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INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

by

KALERVO OBERG

WITH APPENDIX

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE UMOTINA, NAMBICUARA, AND IRANXE, WITH COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER NORTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBES

By MARSHALL T. NEWMAN

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

C50

Smithsonian Institution,
Institute of Social Anthropology,
Washington 25, D. C., May 31, 1951.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil," by Kalervo Oberg, with an appendix entitled "Anthropometry of the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe, with Comparative Data from Other Northern Mato Grosso Tribes," by Marshall T. Newman, and to recommend that it be published as Publication Number 15 of the Institute of Social Anthropology.

Very respectfully yours,

George M. Foster, *Director.*

Dr. Alexander Wetmore,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

* * * *

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PHONETIC NOTE

ʼ=glottal stop, as in mamaʼã.
ą=nasalized vowel, as in tamą.
ɨ=unrounded back i, as in ɨbi.
ë=short e, as in peë.

[p. v]

[p. vi is blank]

600

PREFACE

[p. vii (A)]

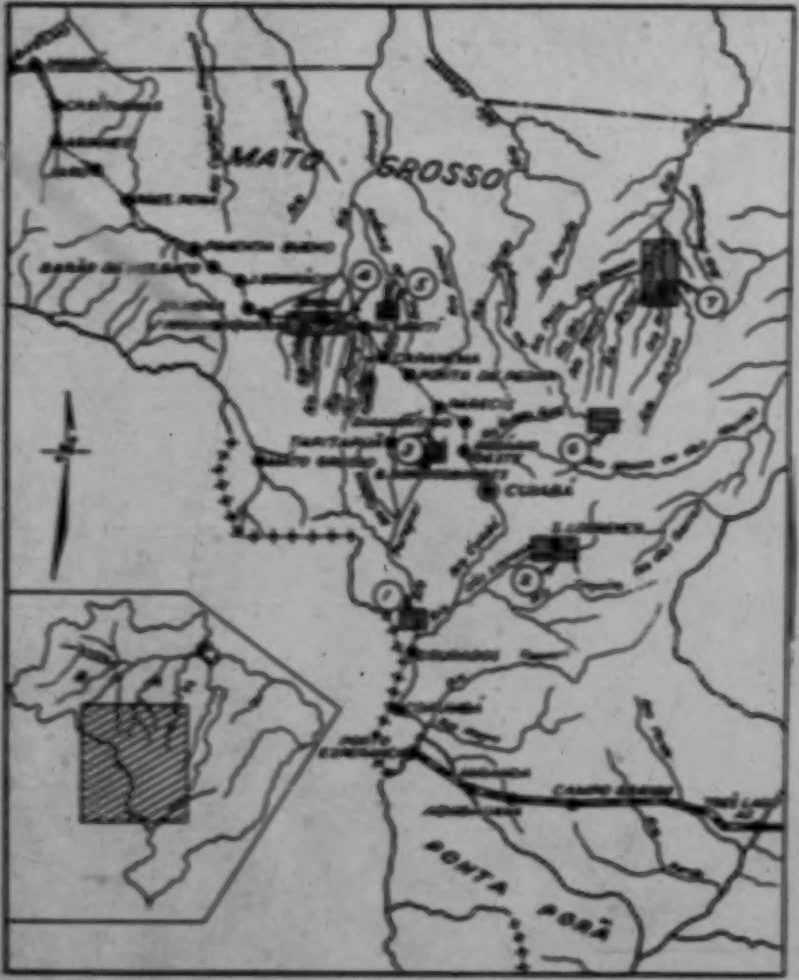
060 The field work on which this monograph is based was carried out as a part of the teaching and field research program in anthropology conducted jointly by the Institute of Social Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution and the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo, during June, July, and August of 1947, 1948, and 1949. In 1947, when I visited the Bacairí, Umotina, Paressí, and Bororo, I was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva, then a student of the Escola but presently a graduate student of anthropology at Columbia University. On the Xingú trip in 1948, I was accompanied by Fernando and Kaoro Onaga, also a student of the Escola. In 1949, when I visited the Nambicuara and Umotina I was accompanied by Kaoro. This field work was in essence a continuation of the research begun in southern Mato Grosso among the Terena and Caduveo in 1946 and 1947, the results of which have been published as Publication No. 9 of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution. Although the title of the present monograph reads "Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso," it should not be interpreted as covering all the tribes in that vast region, many of which are still unidentified.

122 I especially wish to thank Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director of the Escola de Sociologia e Política, not only for his enthusiasm and sympathetic understanding of the research program, but for contributing the funds necessary to maintain the students in the field. I also wish to thank the staff of the Escola for their counsel, particularly Dr. Antonio Müller and Dr. Otavio da Costa Eduardo. I am particularly grateful to the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios whose assistance has been of immeasurable help in the field. I wish to acknowledge, too, the help of the personnel of the Fundação Brasil Central for their assistance while we remained at their camp in the Upper Xingú.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation for the assistance and kindness extended to me by the American missionaries who are active in northern Mato Grosso, particularly, Rev. C. Thomas Young, Rev. W. L. Buckman, Rev. Robert E. Meader, and Rev. Emil W. Halverson.

And now I wish to thank my wife, Lois, for her critical comments and for typing the draft of this monograph.

[p. vii(c)]


MATO GROSSO
CUIABÁ
PONTA PORÃ
1
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MAP 1.—Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil, showing the location of tribes among whom field work was done. Numbered blocks refer to the following tribes or groups of tribes: 1, The Guató; 2, the Bororo; 3, the Umotina; 4, the Nambicuara; 5, the Iranxe; 6, the Bacairí; 7, the Upper Xingú tribes.

000

THE NAMBICUARA

[p. 82(A)]

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

130 The telegraph line which runs from Cuiabá, the capital of Mato Grosso, to Porto Velho on the Madeira River has created a narrow corridor of the known through the vast unknown stretches of northwestern Mato Grosso. Along this line the Government has established telegraph stations manned by telegraph operators, many of whom are Paressí Indians. A makeshift road, over which trucks can travel, follows the line a few miles past Utiarity to Burity; beyond this the road is no more than a trail along which men ride on horseback and goods are transported by pack oxen. At Vilhena there is an army airfield.

Since 1912, when the line was completed, this
[137
317] corridor has been the highway of men who have sought rubber, diamonds, gold, and Indian souls.
No permanent settlements of farmers or stockmen, as yet, occupy this vast hinterland. The rubber concessioner, usually a man from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, or Cuiabá with sufficient funds to buy a truck or two, lays claim to a stretch of "galeria" forest, builds a camp along the road, hires a number of tappers, and goes into business. Each underpaid tapper works an area of trees, bringing his rubber to camp on his back or more rarely on oxback. Food must be brought in from Cuiabá, and as supplies, at best, are precarious, any delay in truck transportation brings scurvy and starvation. Eventually the workers drift away, some it is said dying on the way, and the operation ceases. During the last war the United States Government, through the Rubber Reserve, enabled rubber operations to expand. Good camps were established and the road improved. Today, however, the camps and the road are deteriorating, leaving the field to the shoe-string operator with his second-hand truck. The operations of the gold and diamond miners are still more uncertain. In small groups they enter the area, their scanty supplies carried on oxen and mules. Men un-
[133] familiar with the semiarid wastes easily miss the
areas where fodder and water can be obtained, the pack animals die and the stranded men are left to find their way out the best they can. At Utiarity I met a miner who was waiting for food supplies from Cuiabá. He had four oxen and two

000 [32] mules. During the height of the dry season in July his mules died of starvation, for during this period horses and mules must be given at least a pint of maize a day to keep them alive. Just before I left, the miner was willing to sell his emaciated oxen and equipment and leave. The 797 best able to withstand the hardships are the missionaries who come as permanent settlers with adequate stores, put up their buildings, and plant small fields of manioc on the bottom lands.

000 A brief description of the approximately 400-mile truck journey from Cuiabá to Utiarity will provide the reader with an impression of this part of Mato Grosso. As no regular freight or passenger service exists north of Cuiabá it is necessary either to hire a truck or to wait until someone else plans a trip and to join the party. With gasoline costing one dollar (US$1) a gallon, trips of this length are beyond the means of merely inquisitive travelers, and even to anthropologists with expense accounts, charges of this nature may lead to embarrassing questions. Hearing that two American missionaries were negotiating a trip to Utiarity we joined them by paying a part of the expense.

Thus one afternoon Kaoro Onaga and I climbed on top of one of the two overloaded trucks and headed northwest. The trucks were owned by a Cuiabano nicknamed João Tapuya owing to his Indian ancestry. Being an owner of two trucks, he belonged to that class of people who believe it undignified to work with their hands. Each truck, therefore, had a driver and each driver had an assistant and two loaders; thus, besides the owner, there were 8 men to operate two trucks. Among the passengers, besides myself and my student, there were the two American missionaries, Rev. Lawrence W. Buckman and Rev. Robert Meader, Buckman's wife and 3-year-old son, two other women with children-in-arms, and some half dozen men headed for various points on the way. It was up to each person to find his place on the load and to make himself as comfortable as possible among the boxes, sacks, and sheets of corrugated iron, which, with each jolt on the rutted dirt road, shifted position.

That evening we arrived in Rosario some 90 miles north of Cuiabá. On entering the town we

000 had to cross a shallow river which meant unloading and reloading the cargo. In these parts, although bridges are built, they are not repaired so that there is always a period of several months during which the community has to get along without a bridge. The last truck which tried to cross on the ruined bridge nearby fell into the river and it was said a child was killed in the accident. Although having four or five thousand inhabitants, Rosario has no electric lights, no running water, and no public sewage system. I was interested in this quaint old town with its ancient Catholic church and public square, for it was from here that Von den Steinen, Max Schmidt, and many other anthropologists have headed northeast to the Xingú or northwest to Pareasí and Nambicuara country.

We put up at a "pensão" or inn where we ate our evening meal of rice, beans, and dried meat topped off with "goiabada" (a kind of stiff, very sweet jam) and coffee. The inn was lighted by lamps common in the interior—a tin can filled with kerosene with a round wick sticking out through the top. Later everyone slung his own hammock from the hooks which stuck out all around the walls for this purpose. Our rest was far from peaceful, however, for other trucks kept coming in during the night, the truckers demanding food and lodging.

Next morning at dawn we were on the road and were soon winding up the steep escarpment to the top of the great sandstone plateau which divides the watersheds of the Amazon and the Paraguay Rivers. At noon, over an open fire, the two Brazilian women prepared a lunch of boiled rice and dried salt pork stewed in vinegar, onions, garlic, and tomato paste. At 6 o'clock we arrived at Parecis telegraph station where we put up for the night in an empty rubber storehouse. During the night the south wind began to blow, and the morning broke cold and drizzly.

After a small cup of coffee we climbed on top of the trucks, wrapped blankets around us, and pulled a tarpaulin over our legs. Although the temperature was not lower than 60° F., the exposure to the wind and drizzle caused considerable discomfort, particularly because the temperature of the preceding day had been around 90° F.

133 We were now well along on that part of the central plateau known as the Cerra dos Parecis.

132 134 136 137 000 The soil here[1] is sandy and the rainfall insufficient to support a forest. The vegetation consisted of stunted piqui, mangabeira, fruta de lobo, lixeiro, and other gnarled cerrado trees with the surface sparsely covered with bunches of wiry grass and other drought-resistant plants. During the whole day we saw only four deer and two rheas, which gives some idea of the poverty of the area. This is public domain and apparently unwanted by stockmen owing to its poor soil and lack of water. By now we had left the telegraph line, which crosses unbridged rivers, and were winding around the headwaters of the streams. That night we camped at Sucuruina where two palm-leaf-covered sheds, left by "tropeiros," provided some shelter from the drizzling rain.

133 137 312 The following day the skies cleared and from the tops of the folds in the plateau we obtained magnificent views of the great plain. What few trees could be seen were no more than 5 or 6 feet high. A curious phenomena seen along the plateau are the patches of forest of 5 to 10 acres in extent which appear to grow straight out of the semi-desert. Evidently ground water comes near the surface in these spots, permitting the growth of a genuine forest. Another interesting sight was the birth of rivers. In the shallow valleys formed by the folds, one could first see swampy ground, then tall grass, then bushes, then short trees, and finally the tall trees forming a "galeria" forest which bordered a river winding its way northward to form one of the headwaters of the Amazon system.

At 4 o'clock we arrived at the Sacre River where the trucks had to be ferried across on a raft. As this operation took until dark we camped for the night in some vacant buildings left by rubber workers. Before leaving next morning we visited the waterfall (Salto Bello) about 200 yards below the ferry where the Sacre River tumbles over a sheer drop of about 180 feet. Early in the afternoon we reached the Papagaio River and after ferrying the trucks across we were in Utiarity. Both the Sacre and the Papagaio are deep clear streams about 100 yards in width at the ferry crossings. These headwater streams are evidently fed by underground water, for their level does not vary appreciably during the year.

000 Utiarity, which was to be our base camp for the remainder of June and for July, is built on an

[1] [on the Cerra dos Parecis. - Analyst -]

[p. 83(B)]

000 old Paresí Indian village site on the west bank of
the Papagaio. It is a division point in the telegraph
line, and besides the telegraph operator
there is a section boss and a number of Paresí
Indian linemen. As the Nambicuara take whatever
[316] wire they feel they need, the linemen are
kept busy repairing the line. There are 12 houses
in the settlement proper with the buildings of the
Protestant Mission forming one end of the town
and the buildings of the Jesuit Mission forming
the other.

The line boss, who is also the mayor of the town, gave Kacro and me a two-room mud-and-wattle house as our quarters. Our meals we took with the two American missionary families. The Catholic Mission was under the charge of Father Roberto, a Frenchman, and Father João, an Austrian. In addition, there were three sisters in charge of a school. The priests had developed extensive fields of manioc and rice, irrigating the fields by diverting water from the river. They had also set up an electric-light plant, using water as a source of power. There are tremendous possibilities for power development, for Utiarity Falls, situated some half a mile distant, has a drop of about 240 feet. Unfortunately this power resource is located in a practically uninhabited, semiarid region.

797 The Rev. L. W. Buckman, who has been in the
484 area since 1941, kindly consented to prepare a
pack train, using the mission oxen and mules, to
go in search of the nearest band of Nambicuara.
On the third day after our arrival when our
preparations were well along, however, a band of
Nambicuara came to Utiarity. In fact they were
able to get a ride on João Tapuya's trucks as he
was returning from Burity, the end of the truck
road. This was Julio's band of some 18 people
known by the Nambicuara as the Wakiltisu.
Their purpose was to bring one of their men who
had running syphilis sores to the Jesuit Mission
for treatment. This changed our plans, for we
now had one of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands
in camp, which would give us plenty to do for the
limited period of our visit. Also during the first
000 week, Father João returned from the Iranxe
village, bringing five men, and offered to assist us
in gathering whatever information we could get
from them. This we found to be very difficult,
as the Iranxe spoke no Portuguese and the mis-

000 sionaries had not yet learned enough Iranxe to make working with informants possible.

621 As all of the following information, unless otherwise specified, relates to the Wakilitisu band, a
622 short description of this band is in order. Today the band consists of 18 individuals, of which Julio
[731] is the chief. About 5 years ago, before a measles epidemic decimated it, the band was roughly twice the size it is today. Julio is a man of middle age, has three wives and two children, and probably holds his leadership by being the strongest and ablest man in the band. Except for one of Julio's wives and her daughter who are Elótasu, the members of the band are Wakilitisu and
[595 related to one another. Julio took the Elótasu woman from the Elótasu band by killing her
583] husband. He claims he did this because the Elótasu chief stole one of his wives some years ago. He claims he is going to steal another wife, for every chief is supposed to have four. Only three other men, Martin, Marciano, and Joaquin, are married, each having one wife. The remaining four are either widowers or as yet unmarried.

164 Of all the Indians which I have visited in Mato Grosso the members of this band of Nambicuara were the most miserable. Of the eight men, one had syphilis, another had some kind of infection in his side, another had an injured foot, another was covered with some kind of scaly skin disease from head to foot, and another was deaf and dumb. The women and children, however, appeared to be
515 healthy. Owing to the fact that they use no hammocks but sleep on the ground, they are
[513] always covered with dirt. On cold nights they remove the fires and sleep in the warm ashes.
[291] The Wakilitisu wear clothes only when they are given by the missionaries, who ask that they be worn. Their distaste for bathing permits not only a covering of dust and ashes to accumulate on their skin and hair but also particles of decayed meat and fish, which, combined with stale sweat, makes proximity to them rather distasteful. They
[164] also appear to be heavily infected with internal parasites, for their stomaches are distended and they are continually passing wind. On several occasions when a number of them had crowded into the small room we used for working we had to cease work in order to air the room.

181 In their manners the Nambicuara also contrast
171 sharply with the other tribes I visited. The

181 Caduveo, perhaps remindful of their slave-owning past, are proud, conceited, and boastful. The
171 Arawak-speaking Terena and Paressí, like the Arawak-speaking Waurá, are quiet, unassuming, friendly, and ready to help yet take no liberties. The Umotina speak only when spoken to and appear to wish to be by themselves. They provide information if they think the gifts are sufficient and to their taste; otherwise, they saunter off and are never available when required. An Umotina does just what he wishes to do and hates any kind of dictation. The Bacairí and Camayurá are intimately friendly, talkative, and ingratiating, expect gifts and bestow gifts in return, volunteer information, are full of humor and curiosity, and are clean and polite.

181 The Nambicuara, on the other hand, are surly, and impolite even to rudeness. On many occa-
576 sions when I went to visit Julio at his camp he
609 was lying down near a fire and as he saw me approach he turned his back to me saying that he did not wish to talk. The missionaries informed me that a Nambicuara will ask for some object several times and if it is not given to him he will try to take it. In order to keep the Indians out they would sometimes close the screen door, but if a Nambicuara really wanted to enter he would tear a hole in the screen and walk in. The Nambicuara have two well-recognized ways of showing disgust or disdain. One day I stopped a woman carrying a burden basket to take her photograph. She evidently did not like being stopped, for as she passed me a moment later she turned her back to me and passed wind. This the missionaries claimed is a very common custom of the Nambicuara. The men have an even stronger way of showing disbelief and disgust. After listening to something with which he does not agree a Nambicuara will get up, grasp his penis, and slap it sharply against his groin and walk off with a "that for you" look. One might call it a Nambicuara
181 "rassberry." Although some of these personality traits are old and culturally defined, there appears
648 to be little doubt that the Nambicuara have a deep hatred of the white man. They realize that the white men are rich compared with themselves and that contact with the whites has brought diseases which are killing them off rapidly. They realize, too, that both the whites and the Paressí consider them in the lowest category of human beings.

[p.85(A)]

[101] 181 648 The Paresí call the Nambicuara "those who sleep on the ground" and ridicule them in other ways. One does not have to remain long among the Nambicuara in order to feel this underlying hatred, mistrust, and despair, which create in the observer a feeling of depression not unmixed with sympathy.

198 The Nambicuara is the only tribe I have met who speak pidgin Portuguese, which without some training is almost unintelligible. For instance "bastante" becomes *marente*, "pequeno" becomes *abibi*, "grande" becomes *papai*, and "criança" becomes *pinto*. If they wish to compare two things to bring out a likeness they say this thing is the brother of something else.

142 171 Compared with their neighbors, the Paresí and Iranxe, the Nambicuara are taller, darker, and longer-headed. It is very easy, for instance, even at a distance, to distinguish Nambicuara children from Paresí children when they are bathing in the river. In contrast to the light brown of the Paresí skin the Nambicuara skin appears to have an element of black that gives it a dark-gray undertone. Many individuals have a certain amount of wave in their hair, although the waviness may be accentuated by the unkempt matted condition of the hair. Detailed measurements and indexes are given in Appendix 3.[1/A] The eyes of the Nambicuara are very dark brown, almost black in some individuals, and have a brightness which contrasts sharply with the rather dull eye of the Paresí. The only other Indians that I have met with this brightness of the eye are the Caduveo. This brilliance of the eyes does not appear to be correlated with health, for even the sick have it among both peoples.

131 The Nambicuaras, as a whole, occupy a territory bounded on the east by the Papagaio River and on the west by the headwaters of the Rio Roosevelt and the Pimenta Bueno River. To the south they extend as far as the headwaters of the Rio Juruena and the Rio Kabiahi. To the north they are bounded by a line running roughly from latitude 12°30′ on the Papagaio River to latitude 11° on the Rio Roosevelt. Formerly, it is believed, they extended farther northward. The telegraph line runs through Nambicuara territory beginning at Utiarity and ending at Barão de Melgaço to the west. 101 The territory to the south and east of the Nambicuaras is occupied by the remnants of the Paresí. To the north of the Nambicuara

[1/A] [See cat. 11b, pp. 128-135.—A.]

[[p. 85(B)]

101 are their enemies whom they call the Sabundé or Saluoré, probably the Apiáca whom the local Brazilians call the Beiço de Pau, owing to the fact that they wear labrets.

[197] Linguistically the Nambicuara are divided into an Eastern and a Western group. Both the
131 Eastern and Western Nambicuara, in turn, are
101 dialectally subdivided. The Eastern group is made up today of four bands: the Elótasu situated south of the telegraph line on the Rio Formiga, a tributary of the Juina River; the Wakalitesu just north of the telegraph line on the Juruena River; the Kitäulhu south of the telegraph line on the Camararé River; and the Chiwäisu now including the Hágnalisu north of the telegraph line on the Camararé River. The Eastern bands thus extend on both sides of the telegraph line from Utiarity to Vilhena. The Western Nambicuara are composed of at least three bands, the Wáindisu on the Kabishi River (a tributary of the Guaporé River), the Täsndisú and Suéndisu on the upper Roosevelt River. The above-mentioned names were given by Julio of the Wakalitesu band. The different subdivisions of the Nambicuara have been called various names in the reports. As far as concerns the Eastern Nambicuara the following names appear to be synonymous. For instance, the local Brazilians call the Wakalitesu, Elótasu, and Kitäulhu the Iritoe; these names appear to cover at least part of the people whom Roquette-Pinto called the Kokozú. The combined Chiwäisu and Hágnalisu are called the Manduca by the local people, and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto. Or, to put it another way, the Eastern Nambicuara of the literature are divided into the Kokozú and the Anunzé by Roquette-Pinto, and into the Iritoe and Manduca by the Brazilians who live in the region.

101 The confusion in band names in all probability has arisen from the changes in band organization
621 in the last half century. Fifty years ago the Nambicuara were far more numerous than they are today, and no doubt the number of bands was also greater than today. The extension of the name of an important band to lesser bands is thus quite
621 conceivable. The economy of the Nambicuara appears to indicate that there are maximum and minimum limits to the size of a band. If it grows too large for a given area to support, it will break up, or if it becomes so small that its economic

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621 security and marital possibilities are endangered it will unite with some other band.

161 According to the missionaries who live in the area, the number of individuals in each band of the Eastern Nambicuara are as follows: Wakllitisu, 18; Kitäulhu, 45, Elitasu, 17; Chiwtisu, 30. Old census figures give the population of the Western Nambicuara as 500, but the missionaries assured me that they doubted whether even half [161] as many exist today. It must be remembered that an epidemic of measles or "grippe" can diminish the population very rapidly. Syphilis and tuberculosis also exist among them. Judging from the physical appearance of the individuals and their general attitude toward life, it appears that the Eastern Nambicuara, at least, are dying out rapidly.

114 According to Roquette-Pinto, perhaps the earliest visitor to the territory now occupied by the Nambicuara was Antonio Pires de Campo, who went north up the Sepotuba River, which he called Hiaipotuba, between 1718 and 1723, and in all likelihood reached the headwaters of the Sacre and Papagaio Rivers. In his Breve Notícia published in 1746, he mentions the Caviro Indians living in the valleys of the rivers running northward into the Amazon River.

Some years later Padre Ayres de Casal mentions a tribe living on the Juruena River, a territory long occupied by the Nambicuara. From 1800 on, rumors about the Indians living in this area increased. In 1862, Dr. Amedée Moure published a monograph on the Indians of Mato Grosso in which he devoted a chapter to the 10 savage, man-eating tribes, among whom he listed the Umotina, Cabixi, Nambicuara, and the Tapanuma (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, pp. 26–51).

The first reliable accounts of the Nambicuara date from 1907 to 1912, the period when General Rondon was putting up the telegraph line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho. In 1912, Roquette-Pinto visited the Nambicuara and the Paressí, and later published the results of his investigations in his book entitled "Rondonia." This book undoubtedly is the first anthropologically competent report about the Nambicuara. After 1910, 648 small Government Indian Posts were established, one at Tolosa on the upper Cravari River, a short distance east of Utiarity, and another called Pyreneus de Souza between Campos Novos and

648 Vilhena. These Indian Posts have had only limited success in attracting the Nambicuara, because the region is agriculturally so poor that it is difficult to grow enough food to maintain a settled population, and at present the Indians only visit these posts occasionally.

797 Intensive missionary activity among the Nambicuara began when two American Protestant missionaries, Arthur F. Tylee and William R. Henricks, established a mission station at Juruena in 1925. In October 1930, the Reverend Mr. Tylee, his baby daughter, Miss Mildred Kratz (nurse), and three Brazilians employed by the mission were killed by the Nambicuara belonging to Julio's band. Mrs. Tylee, although struck three or four times on the head while rushing to her child who was still in bed, was only stunned and came to after the Indians had left. One Brazilian hired man escaped to get help from the telegraph station. Some years later new Protestant missions were established at Campos Novos (Nambicuaras) and at Utiarity. At present only the mission station at Utiarity is in operation.

The Jesuits established a mission at Juruena
about 1930, but in 1940 moved it to its present
site in Utiarity. Today both the Protestant and
Catholic missions are, therefore, located in
Utiarity, which not only is connected by truck
101 road to Cuiabá but is also centrally located. To
the east and south are the remnants of the
797 Paressí, and to the north, the Iranxe, who,
although not speaking the Paressí language, appear
to belong to the Arawak-speaking family. Further
northward are tribes with which the missionaries
are planning to make contacts. To the west are
the Nambicuara. Although officially on friendly
terms there is considerable tension between the
Protestant and Catholic missionaries, as they are
competing for the allegiance of the same Indian
population.

ECONOMY

222 Although the Nambicuara practice a shifting
224 agriculture, their dependence upon the wild
animal and plant life of the region is so extensive
that they might well be classed as nomadic
hunters and collectors. The semiarid plateau
provides little in the way of agricultural land,
241 game, or fish. What little farming is practiced
is carried on in the narrow "galeria" forests of the
headwater streams. [p. 87 (1)]

226 headwater streams. The deep clear streams make fishing with timbó,[1] difficult. Game in the forests and on the plain is scarce. Yet by exploiting all the resources of the area the Nambicuara are able to survive. In contrast to the other tribes
262 reported in this monograph the Nambicuara have the broadest resource base, as the list of their resources in Appendix 1 indicates.[2]

132 The Eastern Nambicuara occupy the high plateau between Utiarity and Vilhena. At Uti-
[131 133] arity the altitude is 442 meters and at Vilhena 665 meters. The dry season extends from May to September. Except for occasional south winds, which bring a cold drizzling rain for a day or two, the season is clear, cool, and dry, the daily temperatures ranging from 60° to 80° F. During this
132 221 period the grass withers, the livestock of the white men having to subsist on shrubs and what fodder the owners can provide. Horses and mules, par-
[224] ticularly, suffer during these months. In August the Indians burn the dry grass so that with the first showers new grass can grow out and attract the deer, which the Indians can then hunt.

[805] The dry season, which the Nambicuara call *kwéndkien*, is the most difficult. By the end of June they have consumed the manioc, maize, beans, and other crops which they have planted. During July and August they subsist on palm nuts, cumbaru beans, fruta de lobo, snakes, insects, fish, and whatever animals they can kill on the plateau or in the forest. The rainy season
805 (*uakíara*) is divided into periods depending upon
221 the fruits as they come into season. September is known as *yadíkunaru*, for during this period the people depend upon the jaboticaba fruit. October and November are called *ya'wandjítra*, for during these months the bacaba palm nut ripens. December and January are termed *dára*, or piqui time. February and March are known as *caróra*, which appears to cover a variety of berries and small fruits. April and May are termed *daupadítra*, as many fruits and nuts come into season, particularly, the cashew nut. During these months the garden crops also come in, giving the Nambicuara a short period of abundance.

SETTLEMENTS AND SHELTERS

361 621 Each of the four Eastern Nambicuara bands has a defined area within which it hunts, fishes, collects, and grows its crops. These territories in-

[1] [i.e., a fish poison.—A.]

[p. 87 (B)]

[2] [See cat. 116, pp. 124-126. —Analyst]

361 clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria"
forest which lines its banks. Except during the
621 planting and harvesting season the members of
the band are on the move up and down the narrow
confines of the territory. Within this hunting
territory they have camping places rather than
villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields
are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinsiiden*.
Any place where the band or a family may stop
overnight is known as *sidnou*. At present the
342 Wakĺitisu band has one house (*siru*) at the place
where it is farming. The entire band occupies the
621 house, each family having its own fire around
[513] which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men
gather around another fire. Julio informed me
that their house is rectangular with stake walls
and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some
years ago when the band was larger he said they
occupied a different place on which they built
three houses. These houses were built by placing
a series of saplings into the ground to form an
oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole,
the framework being covered with sapé or palm
fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made
in the same way. Houses of this type are from
[343 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they
346] build a small flute hut (*sinedéndiiere*) and, when
the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*siidentsu*).

342 If the weather is cold while they are out hunting
the band or the family may build a temporary
brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a wind-
break (*sietdatu*) is considered sufficient. On
warm nights during the dry season the group
camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places
the same camp site will be used repeatedly.
[241] When the soil around the permanent camp site or
village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some
distance away and small huts are put up for the
workers. As the distance increases the old camp
site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site
is established.

352 As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks,
beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of
furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted
415 to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets
and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows,
[482 and tools used by men. When they move, these
462] articles are placed in burden baskets which are
000 carried by the women. The Wakĺitisu do not

[p. 88 (A)]

The Waklitisu do not
323 make pottery, but they sometimes acquire pots
from the Paressi in exchange for game or fish.

HUNTING, FISHING, AND COLLECTING

621 Today, at least, the Waklitisu band is a pro-
ducing and consuming unit. Whatever a man or
his family gathers is shared among the band.
This, however, does not mean that the whole band
goes out every day or that they keep together
while out hunting, fishing, and collecting. Except
574 when the men go hunting such large game as the
jaguar, tapir, and peccary, the acquisitive unit
is the family. Every morning while Julio's band
was camped in Utiarity a family or two could be
seen going out, the husband walking in front
armed with bow and arrows, the wife following
[162 and carrying a burden basket on her back and a
455 baby strapped on her hip, an older child following
her. As they move slowly along they collect
222 fruits, nuts, insects, snakes, ants, lizards, rats,
wild honey, and a great variety of grubs or larvae.
226 When they come to a pond they wade around
with small baskets in their hands and scoop out
small fish. On one of these trips I observed them
catching fish that were only 2 inches in length.
[252 These were later thrown on hot coals and eaten
262] without being cleaned. Small birds no larger
223 than a sparrow are shot if the man can get near
222 enough to use his bow and arrow. If they come
[314] to a buriti stalk of the right size they will cut it
down, put it into the burden basket, and take it
313 to camp. On their way home they will usually
pick up dry firewood. Thus, when a family returns
at nightfall the basket will be full of a wide assort-
ment of foods and useful materials.

224 Monkeys, deer, and large birds are generally
stalked by a single hunter, particularly if he has
[177] a gun. Julio and Marciano each owned a shotgun
and quite often hunted alone. If a man goes
out in the morning and runs onto a group of
peccaries he will hurry back to camp, and all the
men will then go to where the peccaries are feeding. When they hear the peccaries the hunters
will form into three files, one heading directly
toward the pigs, the other two flanking the game
on each side. When near enough the middle
file stops and spreads out, the other two files then
slowly surround the pigs. As the flanking movement is going on the pigs sometimes move, but
the middle group of hunters maintains contact

224 with them and informs the flanking hunters with bird calls. When completely surrounded the flanking parties drive the pigs back against the central group where the best archers are stationed. As the pigs charge back, they are shot at close range. Usually an arrow will stop a peccary so that it can be killed later with a club. If the hunters are well organized very few peccaries escape.

252 The hunters then open up all the pigs and take out the viscera. The entrails are emptied and [264] along with the heart, liver, etc., are thrown on hot coals to broil and are eaten on the spot. [412] When opening an animal the hunter grasps a handful of skin over the belly and cuts it off with a bamboo knife leaving a round hole through which the viscera are drawn out. After everyone has eaten, the carcasses are carried back to camp where the meat is cut up and shared among the families, the man with a large family getting more than one with a small family even though the [251] man had not shot anything. All meat that cannot be eaten in a day or two is cut up and dried.

224 [231] The Nambicuara now have a few dogs which they use when hunting jaguars. The dogs drive the jaguar into a tree where it can be shot with a gun or with arrows. Sometimes a wounded jaguar will attack the hunters, and injuries occur. Marciano's 6-year old son had his head and face clawed by a wounded jaguar which his father was not able to kill with the first shot of his shotgun.

Armadillos are dug out of holes. The soil is first loosened with a stick and then dug with a gourd, the diggers sometimes having to go as deep as 8 feet. When they get near the armadillo they put a long stick under it and force it up against the top of the hole in order to prevent it from digging further. When near enough a man reaches into the hole with his hand and pulls out the armadillo. If the hunters are very hungry [264] they will roast the armadillo on the spot, taking left-over pieces of roasted meat home to their families.

224 264 Although sharing is the custom, and it is amusing to observe several men sitting around a 6-inch lizard to eat it, single hunters sometimes succeed in avoiding their obligations. One day as I walked along with Cascudo, followed by several Nambicuara some distance behind, he killed a snake and threw it into the bushes and signaled

[p. 89 (A)]

224 to me not to say anything. Later that day he
264 returned to the spot, built a fire, roasted the snake,
and ate it by himself.

224 Caymans are hunted by first finding their hide-outs under logs or overhanging banks. When one is found under an overhanging bank the hunters peel a number of slender poles and begin to thrust them down through the bank to force the cayman out. Men are stationed above and below the spot, and as the cayman comes out he is shot. When he hides under logs the hunters feel for him with their feet. The hunters are so nimble that few of them get bitten. The large rodent, paca, is also hunted in this way, for it hides in holes under overhanging banks.

The large water snake, anaconda, is hunted in pools where it lies in wait for game. When the hunters have trailed an anaconda to a water hole they keep shooting arrows into the water until they strike it. The first strike then indicates where the snake is, and they continue shooting until the snake weakens and can be pulled out. Sometimes the snake grabs a hunter by the arm, but the others are there to assist if anyone gets into difficulties.

Small anteaters are dug out of holes but the larger kind which does not go into holes is hunted by two men armed with clubs. The men chase it, one on each side, and as the anteater turns on one he strikes it on the nose with his club and then jumps into a tree. The other hunter then strikes it. This continues until the anteater dies.

Monkeys are chased from tree to tree until they tire and come down to hide in a hole in the ground. Dogs can then overtake the monkey or he can be shot or dug out of the hole. Deer usually do not fall when shot, but the hunter chases the wounded deer until he can shoot more arrows into it, especially into the legs.

[278 184] Although the Western Nambicuara are said to use arrows poisoned with curare, the Wakilitisu say they do not use curare but that they know how to prepare it and that they formerly used it in raids. As arrows do not penetrate bone, the hunter tries to shoot at an angle so that the arrow will enter the chest cavity, or he will aim between the neck and the shoulder bone.

223 The Nambicuara hunt and eat all birds except the urubú. Large rheas are not hunted because it is difficult to approach them on the open sa-

223 vanna, but they hunt for rhea eggs and the young birds.

224 When hunting caymans they do not use the word "cayman," nor will they take their eggs for fear of angering the mother cayman. After [535] a jaguar or tapir is killed the hunters sing and dance the following night.

Every group hunt has a hunt leader who is an experienced man. He tells each man exactly what he is to do. Hunting such animals as peccary, tapir, and jaguar demands careful teamwork. If the band splits up to hunt, the band chief will appoint the hunt leaders. If any man disobeys the hunt leader he will take the man's bow away from him and send him back to camp where he has to listen to the ridicule of the women. This is considered a great humiliation and happens only seldom and then to youths who are, as yet, inexperienced and overanxious to make a kill.

226 As the Nambicuara hunt along the banks of the rivers they are always ready to shoot any fish that happens to come near the bank. Sometimes they stand in one spot for hours waiting for pacú or matrinchã to pass near the bank. Certain berries which the fish like to eat are often thrown into the water to bring fish to the surface. At other times they tie a piece of broiled meat onto a stick and push the stick into the bottom. A man then stands on the bank, sucks air through his cupped hand, and as he lets the air out with a grunt he motions with his hand as if beckoning the fish to come near. This appears to be a magical act, for the Nambicuara claim that the fish understand the call. Sometimes they even talk to the fish saying that they have brought fat meat for them.

[824] Timbó fishing is practiced in the shallow cutoffs of the main streams. First the pond is dammed off, then bundles of timbó vine (*hínta*) are thrown into the shallow water and beaten with sticks until the vines are crushed, the bundles are then doused in the deeper water. As the fish in the ponds are very small, they are scooped up with baskets, either the cylindrical burden baskets or a shallow square basket. They also use a conical trap made on the spot from a few sticks which they thrust into the weeds where the fish are hiding. When they have finished with this trap (*tondru*) it is thrown away. Compared with the efficient equipment and methods in the Upper

[p. 90(A)]

226 Xingú, the Nambicuara timbó fishing appears
very elementary. The small fish are wrapped in
[252] leaves and placed in hot ashes until cooked.
Large fish are broiled on a babracot. The Nam-
bicuara also claim that they fish at night with
[177] torches along the river banks. This method may
have been taken over from the Brazilians.

AGRICULTURE

241 The principal food crops grown by the Nam-
bicuara are bitter manioc, sweetpotatoes, arrow-
root, cará, maize, beans, and peanuts. To this
list we must add such nonfood crops as cotton,
tobacco, urucú, and gourds. The scientific and
native names of these plants are listed in Appen-
dix 1.[1] In more recent times they are known to
produce sweet manioc and sugarcane. The de-
pendence upon food crops in relation to game,
fish, and wild food plants is difficult to gage.
The statements of missionaries, however, appear
to indicate that cultivated crops do not provide
a year-round food supply and may actually play
a minor role as compared with dependence upon
noncultivated resources.

Farming is done on the slopes of the "galeria"
forests, where, as we have seen, they also do most
of their hunting and collecting. The Wakliltisu
band clears and cultivates a single field and, as we
have said, lives in a single house while thus
occupied. In the past the field (*hatira*) was
[177] cleared with a stone ax (*etiacu*) and a wooden
club (*halodaire*). Today steel axes and machetes
are used, but the method of planting is still the
same. The efficiency of steel tools over stone
axes and wooden clubs is indicated by the state-
ment that in the past when a new field had to be
cleared the people had to work during most of the
wet season in order to fall the trees, a task which
they now perform in May and June.

Formerly the light undergrowth was pulled out
by hand and the bushes and saplings were beaten
down with the wooden club. The Nambicuara
241 had a unique way of felling trees. Starting near
313 the bottom of the slope, they cut all the small
trees part way through, then selected a number of
large trees as kingpins. When these large trees
were felled they knocked down the smaller trees
below them. This was continued until they had a
circular clearing of the required size on the slope.
241 Today the clearing is done with axes and knives,

[1] [Cat. 116, pp. 124-126. — Pen.] [p. 90 (B)]

241 but the method of felling is the same. All clearing has to be completed by the end of June to permit the felled trees to dry.

In late August, when the cicada begins to sing and the first thunder is heard, the Nambicuara return to undertake their planting activities. At a given signal, men with lighted bunches of dry grass set fire to dry trees and bushes all around the edges of the field. The rest of the people are concentrated at the river's edge at the bottom of the slope, and as animals, such as rats, lizards, and snakes, flee toward the water they kill them. [222] After the fires have died down the people go through the field collecting grubs, insects, and whatever else that is edible.

Among the stumps and unburnt logs the Nambicuara hoe up hills about 3 feet in diameter into which they stick 6 or 7 pieces of last season's manioc stems, each about 10 inches long. These hills are made about 5 or 6 feet apart. Formerly they used a digging stick ([illegible]) but today the metal hoe ([illegible]) is used. Bitter manioc ([illegible]) is their most important crop.

After the rains have begun and the manioc is several inches high, they begin to plant maize ([illegible]) of which the Nambicuara have several varieties. Maize is planted between the manioc hills by making a hole in the ground with a digging stick into which 2 seeds are dropped. As the holes are about 6 inches deep, the seeds are not covered. Whether this is to protect the seeds from birds is not clear.

When the maize has grown tall enough to provide shade they plant beans ([illegible]), sweetpotatoes ([illegible]), and tobacco ([illegible]). The bean which the Nambicuara grow looks like a large red kidney bean and has a tough skin. Beans are planted one seed to a shallow hole and covered. Sweetpotatoes are planted by placing cuttings in shallow trenches near logs and stumps. When 249 planting tobacco a man places a handful of seeds on a leaf, climbs onto a high stump, and blows the fine seeds so that they scatter over the field. They weed the field only once when the maize is about a foot or two in height. Cotton is planted 248 in the field but urucú bushes and gourds are planted near the houses. After the planting is finished and the field is growing well the people leave on their continuous rounds of hunting, fishing, and collecting.

[p. 91 (A)]

252 The Nambicuara method of processing manioc in comparison with that of the Camayurá is simple and crude. The following describes the method used today: Marciano's wife dug up a burden basket full of manioc from a field belonging to the Protestant Mission. She sat under a tree
[17] and peeled the tubers with an old butcher knife (formerly a piece of bamboo was used). She washed the peeled tubers and placed them in a calabash. She then took a grater made from a piece of kerosene box about 2 feet long and 6 inches wide to which an 18-inch strip of perforated tin was nailed. She placed one end of the grater in a larger copper basin (belonging to the mission) while the other end rested on the edge, and while steadying the grater with one hand she grated the tuber with the other. The tubers did not stand in water nor were they dipped in water during the process of grating.

After the tubers were grated she dipped out a calabash full of mash and began pressing it with her hands and pouring the juice into another calabash. After she had drained off as much juice as possible she picked up a handful of mash (*widnere*) and rolled it and squeezed it until no more juice could be expelled. This ball she placed in another calabash and continued making balls until the calabash was full. She then patted down the balls to form a round loaf about 10 inches in diameter and 4 inches thick, which she set out on the bare
[251] ground to dry in the sun. After several days in the sun these loaves get hard and dry and form the storable product (*kinakdápere*) from which the edible cake *hi'toira* (also called *walidnau*) is baked. The juice (*sydnae*; which was left in the calabash she poured into a slight depression in the ground, and after the liquid had drained off she collected the thin film of starch flour (*akainica*) along with some sand, rolled it into a ball, and placed it in
[415] hot ashes to bake. The lack of pottery vessels prevents the Nambicuara from saving and boiling the juice. They know, however, that the juice is valuable, and when they have cooking vessels they boil it to form a thick porridge.

When the Nambicuara wish to prepare a greater quantity of pulp they use a piece of bast for a press. This is a piece of embira bark about 3 feet long and 8 inches wide called *séra*. A woman rolls a ball of pulp in the strip of bark and twists the bark until the pulp is dry. The balls are then

[p. 91([illegible])]

252 placed on a platform under which a fire is lighted. In this manner large quantities of *kinokkíngere* can be prepared in one day.

When a woman gets ready to bake a manioc cake she pushes the hot coals and burning wood to one side and pats down the hot bed of the fire with a flat piece of wood. She then breaks off pieces from a dried manioc loaf and crumbles them over the bed of the fire by rubbing them in her hands. When she has crumbled up enough dry manioc, she pats down the flour to form a round, flat cake about 10 inches in diameter and from 1 to 2 inches in thickness. She covers the cake first with hot ashes and then hot coals. After one-half hour she uncovers her oven to find a brown cake covered with ashes and cinders. This sour, dirty, gritty product in no way compares with the fine-textured, sweet *menyé* of the Camayurá, the meal for which is prepared by crushing the dry ball in a mortar, then sifted to remove the rough fibers, after which the flour is dampened and baked on a pottery baking plate. Sometimes the whole manioc loaf is placed in the fire, and as it bakes the Nambicuara begin to break off pieces from the outside. For ceremonial purposes they bake cakes about 2 feet in diameter.

241 Toward the end of the rains in April and May the Nambicuara return to their fields to enjoy the fresh garden products. The harvest is inaugurated with a harvest ceremony (*koikónak-idutu*). [262] Fresh maize, peanuts, and sweetpotatoes are roasted, manioc cakes are prepared, and, if possible, [252] manioc juice is boiled to make chicha. These garden products, along with meat, supply the food for the feast, which lasts for several days. [534] The sacred flutes (*wainoka*) are played in the flute hut, the spirits of the ancestors are present, and food and drink are offered to them.

221 The subsistence activities of the Nambicuara are, thus, closely associated with the annual cycle of growth in which agriculture forms but a part. The dependence of the Nambicuara upon the wild products of the forest and plateau are much more complex than has been indicated. They supplied long lists of names of plants, insects, and animals for which no Portuguese names could be found. A full understanding of their economic dependence upon the environment would come only by someone following a band of Nambicuara throughout the year to observe the complete annual cycle of

[p. 92(A)]

221 subsistence activities. For instance, they say that
they eat the blossoms of certain plants and a
great number of grubs, larvae, and insects. A
[262 favorite dish is to crush in a mortar manioc cakes
252] with boiled beans, broiled meat, ants, palm nuts,
monkey and bird bones.

824 As an example of the variety of uses to which
the Nambicuara can put a plant we can take the
[262] buritī palm: (1) They eat the pulp surrounding
the scaly covered nut. (2) They use the fibers
[283] from the new growth to make twine. (3) They
use the tough, flexible cortex of the frond stalk
for making baskets. (4) They fell the buritī so
that a certain variety of grub can collect and
[262] multiply in the starchy pith in the heart of the
tree. The grubs or larvae they then eat uncooked.
[501] (5) The dried frond stalks are tied into bundles
and used as floats for crossing rivers. In addition,
the buritī palm has male associations, for only
[766] men can prepare its products. When a male child
dies a piece of buritī fiber is left over his grave.

372 The Nambicuara make fire by the drill method. They cut two round pieces of dry stick about 18 inches in length and three-quarters of an inch in diameter from some bush that has a soft pithy center. The lower stick is split and into the flat side shallow notches are cut to hold the drill in place. The drilling stick is then inserted into the notch while the lower stick is held in place by the toes of the man as he squats over it. He then begins to twirl the stick between his palms, pressing downward. As his hands reach the bottom, he quickly brings them to the top and continues drilling until the pith in the lower stick loosens into small smouldering balls. These he places into a handful of dry buritī fiber and begins to blow on them until the fiber ignites. About 2 minutes is all that is required to make a fire by this method.

MANUFACTURING

412 The material equipment of the Eastern Nam-
415 bicuara is extremely simple. Many items, such
as the conical trap for catching fish, the floats for
crossing rivers, the loom for weaving arm bands,
and the mortar and pestle for crushing food products are made for the occasion and are discarded when the task is completed or when the people move. The small grater and the few gourd vessels, small baskets, and twine, the woman carries

412 in her burden basket, whereas the modern axes,
415 knives, and other tools, along with his ornaments,
the man carries in a similar basket, or he straps
this basket on the back of a boy while he walks
in front of the file carrying his bow and arrows or
gun ready to shoot whatever game is met along
[264] the way. Whenever they kill some animal or
catch a few fish and feel hungry they stop and
prepare a meal. During the dry season they are
at home anywhere in their band territory, moving
only when hunger spurs them on.

411 Today, of course, the Nambicuara have steel
axes and knives. The heavy equipment of the
412 Waklitisu band in 1949, consisted of three axes,
177 two shotguns, and some half dozen hoes which were
hidden near their permanent house. Each man
had a butcher knife, but all men did not have
bows and arrows. There did not appear to be
any desire on the part of each man to possess
these implements. So long as the band had a
few of these objects everyone seemed to be satisfied.
Cascudo, a widower when he arrived in
Utiarity, did not possess a bow and arrow, nor a
gun, nor an ax. By working for the Protestant
missionaries he acquired an ax and when Marciano
died he inherited his bow and arrows. After a
[439] few days, however, he had given the bow and
arrows to a Brazilian in exchange for a felt hat.

412 Examining the hand tools which Julio used, the
following articles were found: A chisel (*kwatíru*)
made by inserting a piece of steel into a wooden
handle wound with twine; a small bamboo
[306] knife (*alkúkwirikatu*); a hardwood drill (*hískatu*),
used with sand for perforating tucum nut shells in
making beads; a piece of sandstone (*dáligisu*), used
as a whetstone; a number of rough leaves of the
lixeiro tree (*kle'ématu*), used as sandpaper; and a
415 comb (*ha'dlatu*). Each of Julio's three wives had
a burden basket, a small square basket, and two or
three gourd vessels of various sizes. A single
wooden mortar and pestle did service for the
whole band.

411 One of the most important implements of the
Nambicuara is the bow, *húkisu*, made from the
piuva (jacaranda-copaia) or the siriva palm (*Syagrus
speciosa*). By far the most common is the bow
made from piuva, ranging between 6 and 7 feet in
length, flat on the inside and convex on the outside.
One of the bows examined measured 2 meters and
14 cm. in length, 4 cm. in width, and 1.5 cm. in

[p.93(a)]

411 thickness in the middle. This bow is made from the honey-colored heartwood of a small piuva tree. After cutting a piece of the required length the bow maker splits it by using two or three axes. He then trims off the outer layer of wood with an ax, shapes it with a knife, and polishes it with lixeiro leaves. The inner side of the bow is flat or slightly concave, depending upon how the wood splits. Shoulders are made at each end to hold the bowstring. The bow is made from green wood, no attempt being made to season it. The siriva bow is the same shape and is made in the same way but [184] the black wood surrounding the center is used. The siriva bow is more common among the Western Nambicuara.

[283] The bowstring (*haluswíniu*) is made from tucum fiber and is about one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The cord is much longer than required and the extra length is wound around the bow for about 6 inches just above the hand hold. The cord is wound from left to right, the running end being brought back over the previous turn to form a cross on the inside of the bow. The string is always smeared with urucú (*dúse*). As the bowstring wears out it is not removed but new lengths of tucum fiber are woven into the extra length.

The basis of the Eastern Nambicuara arrow is the jointless shaft (*alukwirikatu*), which appears to be cane (*Gadua* sp.). Before being made into an arrow the cane shaft is heated over a fire to harden it. Into this cane shaft, which is roughly three-eighths of an inch in diameter, a piuva foreshaft (*ihdikatsutu*) is inserted for a distance of 4 or 5 inches, leaving about 20 inches protruding. The joint is wound with sipó vine for about [237] 6 inches. To feather the arrow, a 10-inch macaw feather (*akinántru*) is split and the halves are laid parallel to one another on opposite sides of the [281] butt end of the shaft. The feathers are lashed to the shaft with cotton twine, the lashings being about an inch apart. Although the feathers are laid straight along the shaft, they assume a propellerlike pitch which gives the arrow its revolving [237] motion when in flight. The lashings are covered with beeswax. The butt has a V-notch to hold [284] the bowstring, which is again tightly wound with waxed cotton twine. By attaching various parts to the end of the foreshaft, four different kinds of arrows about 5 feet long are made.

[p. 93(B)]

411 [223 224] (1) The *hángesu*, an arrow which is used for shooting monkeys and large birds, is made by lashing an inch-long slender barb of siriva palm or piuva about an inch back from the sharpened point of the foreshaft.

[227] (2) The *saláitsu*, or fish arrow, is made by lashing four slender points of wood about 2 inches long to the end of the foreshaft. This arrow need not be feathered. Today wire is sometimes substituted for the wooden points.

[223] (3) The *dúnkisu*, or blunt bird arrow, used for shooting small birds, has a separate piuva foreshaft, the end of which forms a rounded flat surface about an inch in diameter.

[224] (4) The *hóptisu*, or big game arrow, has a broad split bamboo point about 12 inches in length which is lashed to the foreshaft. As the bamboo point is slightly grooved along the center, the foreshaft lies along the groove permitting it to be lashed firmly to the tapered sides of the point. Formerly curare poison was smeared along the groove. This was also the arrow used in war.

Sometimes a bamboo point is serrated on one or both sides. In former times, this arrowhead was poisoned with curare. It was attached loosely to the shaft so that when it struck an animal it became detached from the shaft. This arrow was used against big game like the jaguar, tapir, deer, and against human enemies.

The bow is held in a vertical position when shooting; the arrow is held with the thumb and forefinger while the middle and ring finger pull the bowstring, with the arrow resting against the hand side of the bow.

283 Cordage is made from the fibers of the tucum and buriti palms and from cotton. The tucum palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), *hatáitsu*, provides not [306] only fiber but the hard shell of the nut is used for making the black, round, flat necklace washers, [257] and the thorns from the trunk are used as spikes in the manioc grater. Tucum twine which is a little stronger than buriti twine is used for bowstrings, for stringing beads, and for many other purposes. When a man needs tucum twine he sends his wife to gather the palm leaves. As the young trees grow in clumps, it is a simple matter for the woman to cut off a number of fronds. The woman then takes a long slender leaf, bends it double in the middle so that the woody fiber breaks, then doubles it back and pulls downward

283 on one half while holding the other, thus stripping the fine fiber from the body of the leaf. She then turns the leaf over and strips the other half. Later she picks off whatever bits of green skin that adheres to the fibers and twirls one end between her fingers to keep the fibers together. From each leaf, therefore, she gets a pale green whip of fiber which forms the raw material for cordage making. A number of these whips are wrapped in embira, the bundle being known as *dóidjusu*, and stored away for future use.

When a man wishes to make cordage he begins to add these whips to existing bits of twine or cord. I never saw a man making a completely new cord. The end of an old piece of cordage is unraveled and three whips are joined to it at intervals of several inches and rolled together on the thigh, the motion being toward the body. This stroke rolls up the fibers into three tight strands. On the downward stroke the three separate strands are "laid up" or rolled together to form the cord. Three new whips are added and the process is repeated until the cord is of the desired length. If the man wishes to make finer cord he separates each whip into a number of parts.

The making of cordage from buritî (*Mauritia vinifera*), *yélasu*, as has been mentioned, is man's work. The man finds a young buritî palm and from the top of it cuts down the shoot which encloses the three leafstalks. This growing part is a tapered rod about 8 feet long and triangular in shape. When twisted this rod cracks open revealing countless fine strands covered with a green skin, each strand having a hard embryonic leaf stem running through the center. First the man peels off the green outer skin and then pulls out the embryonic leaf stem. What he has left is a hank of lemon-colored, soft, grasslike ribbons the length of the original rod and about one-half of an inch in width. These ribbons he coils and places in a pot and boils for about 20 minutes so that the starchy material is loosened. In former times the hank was placed in the hot sand under the fire and sprinkled with water. When the coil is cool enough to handle the man opens it out and begins to rub it between his hands just as does a woman washing a strip of cloth, periodically dipping it into the warm water. As he rubs, the hank gets quite sticky as the starchy material

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283 breaks down. After one-half hour the starchy material is washed out and the ribbons begin to separate into fine strands of fiber. The hank is then shaken out and hung up to dry. When of good quality, that is, when the rod is of the right age, the fibers dry out a pale cream color. While the man is occupied at this task the girls make temporary necklaces from the green outer skin and the boys use the thin central stems as arrows for their small bows. [301] These dried-out hanks are a favorite decoration of the Nambicuara when painted with horizontal bands of urucú. They can then be suspended from the neck and allowed to hang down the back, or pieces are attached to the arm bands, leg bands, and in front to the belt.

Cotton twine is used for making arrows, stringing beads, weaving arm bands and the narrow shoulder straps which women use for carrying young children. From the cotton bush (*kúndsu*) the woman picks the bolls (*kúnkisu*) to make cotton twine (*kúnālisu*). As the making of burití twine is a man's task, so the making of cotton twine is purely a woman's task. After picking the seeds from the bolls she spreads the cotton into flat disks and then into circles. Next she breaks the circles and joins them to form a long rope about an inch in diameter. This rope she winds around her arm, twists the end of it with her fingers, and fastens it to the top of a spindle (*waníkisu*). With a twirl of her fingers she sets it spinning and lets it drop, plucking out the cotton as it is spun. Later she unties the string and fastens it near the whorl and then by spinning the spindle on the ground the twine is wrapped around it. This process is repeated until the cotton rope is used up.

286 The men do the weaving on a true but very makeshift loom. Two forked sticks, roughly a yard long, are thrust into the ground about 2 feet apart and at an angle. One cross bar rests in the forks while another is fastened on near the ground. The warp is wound around these cross bars. The heddle, shuttle, and sword are used in [177] weaving the narrow material. It seems very likely that this type of loom was taken over from the Arawakan Paressí.

The bast strap or band (*sa'am*) is made from embira and is used for pressing manioc pulp, for carrying children or baskets, and, when cut into strips, is used for tying up bundles.

[p. 95 (A)]

ORNAMENTATION

301 306 The Eastern Nambicuara also make a wide assortment of ornaments from tucum nuts, shell, teeth, and bamboo. From the shell of the tucum nut they make black washers which are strung for necklaces or ear ornaments. The irregular-shaped washers are first ground down to an almost paper-like thinness on a piece of sandstone. They are then strung tightly on a string and the maker begins to rub them against a stone in order to make them circular. He continues rubbing until the washers are no more than a quarter of an inch in diameter, for the smaller the washer the more highly the necklace is valued, as this process takes many weeks.

301 304 The ear lobes of both men and women are perforated so that tucum shell washers, beads on a string, and triangular pieces of shell can be suspended from them.

The septum of the nose and the upper lips of men are perforated. Through the hole in the septum they force a slender piece of bamboo about 2 inches in length. These adornments give a peculiar expression to the face, particularly when the man is speaking. Julio was especially proud of these ornaments and claimed that white men were just like women because they did not wear them. [292] [756] On special occasions a blue macaw feather about 10 inches long with a bunch of red feathers near the lower end is worn in the nose. Only shamans wear a hat made from jaguar skin.

301 The most popular necklace is made from tucum washers and is worn by men, women, and children. Short lengths of bamboo, monkey teeth, jaguar teeth and claws are also used for making necklaces for men. If very long, any necklace can be worn over one shoulder and under the arm. A special type of necklace for men is made by suspending black mutúm feathers from a string alternating with lengths of bamboo. Generally the feathers also alternate, some being long and some short. A rare but highly valued necklace is made from the shiny black horns of a large beetle.

Arm bands about an inch in width made of woven cotton are worn above the biceps by both men and women. From these, men suspend tassels of buritī fiber. This fiber is also worn around the wrists and ankles. Wrist bands are also made for women from the tail of the armadillo.

[p.95(B)]

291 Around the waist both men and women wear a burití cord; if possible, this string is strung with glass store beads. In addition, men sometimes suspend a lenth of burití fiber from the front of the belt.

302 Men paint their faces with urucú, drawing a band from each side of the forehead down to the chin, another band across the eyes and bridge of the nose, and then a band from under each eye across the cheeks. On the body they draw two stripes, starting from the abdomen up to the nipples and then over to each shoulder. The arms and legs are dotted with red or black spots. The hair is seldom smeared with urucú.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

(See chart 13)[1/A]

619 621 The names of the Eastern Nambicuara bands appear to be derived from characteristics peculiar to the band territory. The Waklítisu are cayman people for there are many caymans (*waklisu*) in their territory. The Elótasu are open plains people, for they live on the open plain (*toku*) of the upper Camararé River. The Kitánhlu get their name from a small fruit called *tantu*. The Chiwáisu are bee people from the word *waisu*, bee. The Hégndisu are burití fruit (*héeru*) people. Although these bands are not politically united under a single chief, and sometimes even resort to open conflict, they consider themselves a single people, or as Julio phrased it, "We can speak with one another and we came from the same hole in the stone mountain."

619 773 The origin myth of the Eastern Nambicuara, as it is told among the Waklítisu band, can be summarized as follows:

> Before the Nambicuara came there were only animals, birds, plants, and beings who could change from animal and bird to human form. At that time the Nambicuara were inside a stone mountain called *yahaindurukatsu*, which is situated north of the telegraph line near Campos Novos (roughly in the center of the territory now occupied by the Eastern Nambicuara). One day the monkeys heard people speaking inside the mountain and went to tell *oklihâitlisu* who changed himself into a black and white woodpecker and flew with all his strength against the mountain. When the mountain broke some were killed and some injured but many came out alive. The ghosts of the dead people remained around the mountain where they still are and where all Nambicuara go after they die. The injured people *oklihâitlisu* sent into the bush, but the people who were sound of body he put into good clean places and gave them the piuva bow and taught them how

[1/A] [Cat. 116, p. 123.—Analyst] [p. 96 (A)]

619 773 to grow manioc and sweetpotatoes. He also gave them the flute (*[illegible]*), and taught them how to sing and dance. *Oblihádilisu* is thus the culture hero of the Nambicuara. In human form he looks like a Nambicuara Indian, wears ornaments in his ears, nose, and upper lip and paints himself with urucú. Yet today people no longer see *oblihádilisu*, for he has gone away. They do not have rituals connected with him, nor do the shamans solicit his aid. But the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came is still recognized as the place of the dead. On ceremonial occasions the ghosts of the ancestors come to the encampments and villages from the mountain, returning after they have been given food.

622 Although every band has a leader or chief it is not quite certain whether these leaders get their positions through succession or by personal strength and prestige. Julio claimed that he is headman because his father was a headman, but the other members of the Waklítisu band claim that the strongest man is always the leader by common agreement. The Nambicuara appear to value two qualities in a man—"a strong body" and "a strong mouth." The chief is like a tapir (*alúnsu*) which is the strongest of the animals; thus, a chief is called *alunsdidnara*. A shaman gains power by talking or by having "a strong mouth," as the Nambicuara say. The strongest man is one who combines these qualities and is at once a strong man and shaman—he becomes an important chief.

The survival of the band, the Nambicuara believe, depends upon the *alunsdidnara*. He is the hunt leader, the head farmer, the one who organizes trade between the bands, the ceremonial head, the war leader, and the settler of disputes. Every successful chief is supposed to have four wives but otherwise has nothing to distinguish him from the rest of the tribesmen.

619 [582] 438 619 Relationships between the bands of the Eastern Nambicuara are characterized by intermarriage, trade, occasional joint ceremonies, and wife stealing and consequent armed conflicts. Intermarriage occurs when cross cousins are not available for marriage within the band. The Chiwáisu and Hégndisu obtain pots from the Western Nambicuara in exchange for wax, feather ornaments, beads, and bows and arrows. These pots they in turn exchange with the Eastern Nambicuara bands for knives, axes, and tin cans.

When one band wants to meet another in order to exchange goods the approach is made in a very formal manner. The approaching band stops

619 438 several hundred yards off and messengers are sent out to arrange a meeting. When agreement is reached the visiting band enters the camp, the visiting chief kneels on one knee and holding his bow and arrows above his head with his right hand he makes a speech extolling the hosts and their goods and depreciating the things which his band has brought. The host then makes a similar speech, and trading begins.

Important items are traded by the two chiefs representing their respective bands, while small items can be exchanged by individual owners. In all cases, however, the technique of trading is the same. If an individual wants an object he extolls it by saying how fine it is. If a man values an object and wants much in exchange for it, instead of saying that it is very valuable he says that it is no good, thus showing his desire to keep it. "This ax is no good, it is very old, it is very dull," he will say, referring to his ax which the other wants. This argument is carried on in an angry tone of voice until a settlement is reached. When agreement has been reached each snatches the object out of the other's hand. If a man has bartered a necklace, instead of taking it off and handing it over, the other person must take if off with a show of force. Disputes, often leading to fights, occur when one party is a little premature and snatches the object before the other has finished arguing. The term "boca forte" (strong mouth) applies particularly to trading, for a man with a strong mouth gets what he wants and convinces the other that he, too, has made a good bargain. This method of trading contrasts sharply with that practiced among the Upper Xingú tribes where each party places a pile of goods opposite the article he wants, usually without saying a word. If agreement is not reached, each one eventually withdraws his goods.

619 583 After a satisfactory exchange of goods the two bands go hunting and prepare a quantity of food and dance as long as the food lasts. During these meetings marriages are sometimes arranged, but more often, when leaving, some strong man will try to steal the wife of some other man. If a fight should occur in which one man is killed the winner will take not only his wife or wives but his children and property as well.

619 Rev. L. W. Buckman gave the following account which reveals something of the tension between

[p.97(A)]

619 the bands. In 1937, the Kitánhlu band met a small group of Chiwáisu out hunting and attempted to trade with them. As the Chiwáisu were the smaller group, the Kitánhlu evidently tried to rob them. In the fight several Chiwáisu were killed. These bands did not meet again until 1941, but the Chiwáisu prowled around the Kitánhlu camp stealing what they could and trying to revenge their fallen comrades. In 1941, both bands happened to meet in Campos Novos, and the old quarrel was renewed. In the Chiwáisu camp there was a child which had been born to a Kitánhlu woman married to a Chiwáisu. A Kitánhlu took the child away by force saying that it belonged to his band. The Chiwáisu retaliated by shooting down a Kitánhlu. A fight followed in which the Chiwáisu were driven out after losing several of their band. For several years the Chiwáisu remained away and were attacked by the Saláunsu, a wild tribe living to the north of the Nambicuara. In the last few years, a temporary peace has been arranged by the Chiwáisu bringing presents of wax and honey to the Kitánhlu.

648 Except at telegraph stations, mission stations, and at the two Indian Posts, the Nambicuara have few contacts with their neighbors, the Paressí and Iranxe. The Paressí consider the Nambicuara as their inferiors, and, as far as is known, the two peoples do not intermarry. The Iranxe hold themselves aloof from both tribes.

The efforts of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios to improve the lot of the Nambicuara have not been very successful. Part of this lack of success is, no doubt, due to the poor agricultural possibilities in the region. The Tolosa Post is situated in a barren region where it is difficult to grow sufficient food to maintain more than two or three families. The Nambicuara visit Tolosa, but after the food supply is consumed they move on. The other factor which makes it difficult to settle the Nambicuara in permanent villages is that they are hunters and shifting agriculturists. Lack of good agricultural land does not altogether explain this nomadic pattern of existence. Like the Caduveo who have excellent farming land the Nambicuara persist in continuing their traditional form of economy.

In contrast to the Paressí, who have become satisfactory employees of telegraph stations, mining camps, and mission stations, the Nambicuara

[p. 97(B)]

648 only work for the white man when they want an ax, a knife, a gun, or some article of clothing, and once they obtain what they want they wander off. Miners particularly are bitter about the fact that the Nambicuara are unreliable workers.

797 Missionary activity, which has been carried on intensively by both Protestants and Catholics for about 20 years, has been singularly unsuccessful in Christianizing the Nambicuara. The Jesuit priests informed me that only those individuals who have been taken to Diamantino as children and kept there can be said to understand the rudiments of Christianity. The hope is that eventually these individuals can be brought back to the tribe and through their influence their children will be raised as Christians. The Protestants tell the same story. The Indians remain around the mission stations, participate in prayer meetings, and perform little tasks for which they are compensated but they soon become bored and wander off. The Rev. L. W. Buckman told me that he raised a Nambicuara boy at the station and believed that he would remain, but one day the boy got married, left with his wife, and took up the old wandering pagan form of life. None of the Waklítisu band are considered Christians. When Marciano died [764] a few days before I left he was buried according to Indian custom, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries participating in the burial as onlookers. Among this band which has had as much missionary contact as any, there was not a single individual who could speak or read Portuguese. Some of the men, as has been mentioned, used a form of pidgin Portuguese as a means of communicating with their white neighbors.

648 The attitude of the Nambicuara toward the white man is not only one of suspicion and sullen resentment, but one of disdain. They call white people "civilisados" or sometimes "bean eaters." A Nambicuara feels insulted if these terms are applied to himself. He openly boasts of being a "bugre," a slang term widely applied to Indians in Brazil which signifies a sodomite or heathen. While all other Indians that I have met in Mato Grosso objected to this term when it was applied to them, the Nambicuara always use it when talking about themselves. Julio informed me that the Nambicuara always get sick when they visit white people. The missionaries confirmed this fact but added that the Nambicuara have now become

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648 dependent upon the whites for metal tools, guns and ammunition, and feel it necessary to visit white settlements. The Nambicuara are not above visiting white men for treatment of injuries and cases of severe illness.

619 The interband relationships of the Eastern Nambicuara, although characterized by tensions and periodic open conflicts, are based on a recognition of common origin, common speech, and a degree of intercourse through trade, marriage, and the performance of dances in common. The rela-
721 tions with the so-called wild tribes to the north, on the other hand, are based on war, not just on raiding for loot and women, but on a war of extermination. Although the bands south of the telegraph line no longer participate in war, the bands north of the line still fight on occasion with their enemies which they call the Saláunsu and which the whites call the Beiço de Pau.

726 When preparing for a war the chief of the band takes the men into the woods and tells them that there are bad people to the north which they must kill. Then after singing a war song they set about making many arrows and war clubs. The night before the attack they camp near the village of the enemy. The men paint their bodies with the sap of some latex tree and their faces with urucú and charcoal. They then take leaves and stuff them into any holes in the ground or in trees around their camp. After all the holes are stopped up, they take the skin of an anteater, the skin of a toad, and the leaves of a tree, which are used in preventing rain, and burn them. The stopping of the holes is believed to prevent the enemy from hearing them, the smoke is to blind the enemy's *anúnsu* and, also, to make the enemy sleep soundly. The chief remains at this spot and sings all night with the shamans. At dawn the young men approach the huts of the enemy, stand in the doorways and shout, and when the occupants awaken they are shot down or clubbed. No one is spared. They then take whatever they can, burn the houses, and return to the chief and his singing shamans where the loot is distributed among the warriors.

621 The internal organization of the band is based upon kinship and is perpetuated through cross-cousin marriage. One belongs to the band of his or her mother. Julio explained that when the daughter of the wife whom he abducted from the Elótasu reaches puberty she will return to the

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621 Elótasu band. This is the custom among all the Eastern Nambicuara bands.

601 The kinship terminology belongs to the bifurcate merging type. The term *tayúntasu* (grandfather) and the term *quatahdíniru* (grandmother) are extended to the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents. The term *awíniru* (father) and the term *ahakíniru* (mother) are extended to father's brother and mother's sister, respectively. Father's sister is termed *ahaínusu* and mother's brother *asúnusu*. A man calls his older brother *akanánusu*, his younger brother *dawtídnisu*, and his sisters *awídnasu*, these terms being extended to parallel cousins. The terms for son (*akirúru*) and daughter (*akenéru*) are extended to the children of a man whom ego calls brother. The terms for sister's son and daughter are *asuítu* and *asíntu*, respectively, these terms being extended to the children of anyone whom ego calls sister. The term for male cross cousin is *asúkisu* and that for female cross cousin, *dazésu*. There is just one term for grandchildren, *quatasdíserawa*.

The only affinal kinship terms which we could obtain were the terms wife (*azéru*) which bears a close relationship to female cross cousin; husband (*amezátisu*); and the terms for father-in-law (*asúnusu*), and mother-in-law (*ahaínusu*), which are identical to the terms for mother's brother and father's sister. Whether women employ different kinship terms was not ascertained owing to the fact that the women refused to discuss the matter and the male informants persisted in going to sleep when the subject was broached.

582 The kinship terminology supports the statement made by the Nambicuara that cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Excepting one Elótasu woman all the wives in Julio's band were Waklítisu and cross cousins of their husbands. At the death of
587 the husband the wife and children pass to the
768 deceased husband's brother. Women sometimes marry their mother's brothers. Residence is patri-
591 local although when marrying a woman from another band, the man sometimes remains with his wife's band for a while. Band membership, as has been stated, is determined by matrilineal descent.

622 The powers of the chief are limited to leadership in such activities as hunting, planting, trade, and ceremonies. Raids, although organized by the chief, are not led by him. The chief admon-

[p. 99 (a)]

The chief admon-
627 [622] ishes quarrelsome individuals but appears to have no powers of coercion. The Wakliitisu claim that individuals quarrel but they do not fight among themselves nor do they remember any cases of murder. Unwanted individuals are exiled by common agreement.
421 Houses, fields, and some implements are common property, and food is shared among the members of the band. Axes, machetes, and knives, although owned by individuals are freely used by other members.
[428] At death, privately owned tools pass to a man's sons or to his brother.
[764] The bow is customarily broken and left on the grave. Even these rules are not strictly adhered to, for when a man becomes seriously ill other men begin to help themselves to his property and the one with the "strongest mouth" gets the most. If the man recovers he cannot reclaim his things but must set about accumulating a new supply.

593 The wife and the children are under the strict control of the husband. Although boys must obey their fathers they owe no special obedience to their mothers. Boys sometimes throw stones and sticks at their mothers and the old women; the older men not only laugh but even encourage this disobedience.
[837] The bond between brothers is very close. On occasion they share each other's wives. No particular respect is paid to in-laws.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

774 According to the Wakliitisu the spirits are the source [illegible] all danger, misfortune, sickness, and death. [illegible] ghosts of the dead (*ayánkadisu*),
[782 bring sickness unless offerings of food are made to
753] them. The ghosts of dead shamans (*anúnsu*), belonging to other bands bring thunderstorms which destroy gardens and make hunting difficult. [821]
776 In addition to the ghosts, there is *tauptú*, the hawk of death who lives in the sky, and *ulurú*, the evil armadillo who lives under the ground and wants to destroy the villages and camps of the Nambicuara.

Tauptú is an enormous hawk with huge wings, tail, and claws, who sits in a tree made of human bones. This tree (*lúlukatsu*) is situated on the shore of a shallow lake in the sky.
[821] Shooting stars are caused by *tauptú* defecating at night. A small red bird (*dinínusa*), who lives with *tauptú*, urinates into the lake and when it fills up the urine overflows and comes down in the form of rain.

776 [753] *Toupté* does not cause illness, but when people get sick he begins to eat away the flesh and finally kills them and eventually takes their bones to his abode in the sky. The missionaries told me that when the first airplane appeared in Nambicuara territory the Indians ran into the forest and hid because they believed the airplane was *toupté*. Shamans sometimes visit the land of [756] *toupté* by riding up to the sky on the back of *wraisi*, the night hawk or goat sucker. Julio claimed that his father-in-law, who was a powerful shaman, had visited the realm of *toupté* while in a trance.

776 756 The Wakilitisu fear most of all the spirit armadillo called *ulurá*. When someone sees bits of manioc cake and charcoal floating on the river near the village, he comes back and tells the shaman, who then goes to examine the signs. If the shaman decides that it is *ulurá*, immediate action must be taken to save the world from destruction. The women and children shut themselves in their huts while the men take their wooden sword clubs (*kalúkira*) and go to the bank of the river. The shaman then digs a deep hole in the bank, into which he is lowered with a rope. When he has grasped *ulurá* by the tail he signals the men on the surface to pull him out. The shaman remains at the mouth of the hole with his arm thrust in, holding *ulurá* by the tail while with his other hand he marks points on the ground which are directly over the head, heart, and stomach of *ulurá*. One by one the men thrust their sword clubs into the ground at the places marked by the shaman. As they push the blades in they twist them to make sure that they kill *ulurá*. After the spirit armadillo has been killed, the men go back to the village leaving the shaman alone with the dead *ulurá*. The shaman then cuts up the spirit armadillo, washes the pieces in the river, and begins to sing. When the ghosts of the dead Nambicuara hear the song they come and eat the pieces prepared by the shaman, after which they go away happy because the Nambicuara have been saved.

776 [821] The Wakilitisu say that if they should ever fail to kill *ulurá*, a terrific storm would appear followed by an earthquake, for when *ulurá* gets under the village he will turn the world upside down, *toupté* will fall down from the sky, and the Nambicuara will be buried again. In short, they will go back

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776 under the ground from where *ekiikdidiru*, the culture hero, once released them. They add that they expect this to happen some day.

756 The man who is responsible for guarding the band against evil spirits is the shaman (*waningidiru*). 775 In this task he is assisted by the ghosts of dead shamans of his own band. The spirit or ghost of a dead shaman is known as *anénru* and is sharply distinguished from the ghosts of non-shamans (*episkadiru*). The *anénru* of other bands, however, are considered evil for they bring thunderstorms. When speaking about shamans and shaman spirits in Portuguese, the Nambicuara refer to both as "trovão" (thunder). This has led many observers to the conclusion that the Nambicuara believe in a thunder spirit. Among the Wakilitisu, at least, "trovão" or thunder is nothing more than a shaman or a shaman spirit. Actual thunder, which is caused by a shaman spirit is called *tíditu*. A shaman spirit may also enter the body of a jaguar (*gonéru*), and cause harm to people.

821 The Nambicuara do not like heavy and prolonged rainstorms, for they say that the winds blow down their houses, the lightning sometimes kills people, and the rains wash away the tracks so that they and their dogs have difficulty in following game. 756 To pacify the evil *anénru*, who has caused the storm, the shaman makes a cigar-789 shaped bundle (*yalúdendnru*) out of certain dry leaves, which he ties with cotton twine, leaving long tails at each end. When he wants to stop the rain he lights one end of the bundle, and as it begins to smoke he waves it in the direction of the storm, telling the rain to go away. "Go away, go away, don't be angry at me," he says as he waves the bundle four times. If this does not stop the rain the shaman takes the sword club (*halúndiru*), which appears to have magical powers, and cuts the rain. If the rain still persists, he lights three smudges made by mixing "para toda" leaves with the *yalúdendnru* leaves. When the smoke rises from the smudges he takes a burning brand and waves it against the storm telling it to stop.

756 The shamans of one band also practice sorcery 758 against individuals in another band by asking their *anénru* to inject objects into their bodies. When a shaman wishes to inject an object into his enemy he retires into a special hut (*sikdandru*) and

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756 by singing calls his *endore*, who eventually comes
754 up out of the ground in front of him. The *endore* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *endore* if he will do his bidding. If the *endore* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the sha-
755 man's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *endore* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *endore* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

775 The ghosts of the dead (*apidokadira*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *apidokadios* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with
[753] the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children,
[755] a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

775 In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made
553 through singing. The Wakliitisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *endore*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *apidokadios*. Shamans practice
[834 continence before important rites, for if the
756] *endore* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

757 In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

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757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *[illegible]*.

778 534 The sacred flutes (*[illegible]*) are associated with *[illegible]*, the culture hero, agriculture, and chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the [784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 775 533 The *[illegible]* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the [illegible]. The ghosts of the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *[illegible]* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *[illegible]* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

534 *kodiru*, the nose flute, *wainirsu*, and the five-tube panpipe, *dëtu*. The nose flute which is about 4 inches in diameter is made by sticking two round pieces of gourd together with rosin. Three holes are made on one side, two holes providing finger stops, while air from one nostril is blown across the other. These flutes do not appear to have any ritual significance.

771 In reviewing the religious symbolism of the Nambicuara it appears that the following conclusions can be drawn. The *dikikaidire* myth explains the origin of the Eastern Nambicuara and their rights to the territory which they now occupy. *Tsuptá*, although not the cause of illness, explains why people die. *Tsuptá* and *dikisuru* also account for the existence of shooting stars and the presence of rain. *Ulurú* appears to represent the ever-present forces of destruction inherent in the physical environment. Within the framework of these ultimate forces the Nambicuara carry on their struggle for existence assisted by and opposed by the members of their own kind. The security of the band depends upon the close cooperation of the kinsmen acting under the guidance of the chief. The *weiierku* flutes provide a supernatural sanction for the powers of the chief and thus help in enforcing and maintaining band solidarity. The flutes, furthermore, are a symbol of the common ancestry of the Eastern Nambicuara in that they relate the bands to the culture hero. The ghosts of the ancestors (*ayiakodiru*), like the living members of the band, must be well-treated in order to avoid danger to children and the perpetuation of the band.

6M But actual day-to-day danger to the individual comes from the members of other bands. Disputes over women and quarrels arising from the exchange of goods, as we have seen, lead to bloodshed and death. In the ultimate analysis each [621] band defends itself as a sovereign unit by force. The danger arising from the constant tension and suspicion between the bands is symbolized by the *andure* who bring illness, who create the storms which destroy the houses and fields, and who threaten the band with starvation by making hunting difficult. As direct attack by other bands is met with the physical forces of the band, so spiritual attack by the *andure* of other bands is met by the assistance of one's own *andure*. They help the shamans to draw out the evil objects

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619 which cause sickness, they have given the magical herbs whose smoke blinds the dangerous *anénsu*, and the techniques which will drive away the storms. Thus the shaman operating on a symbolic level continues the struggle for survival which has been defined for the Nambicuara by the nature of their adjustment to their physical environment and their relationships to one another.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

833 [842] The Nambicuara recognise sexual intercourse (*wiasńendïtes*) as the cause of pregnancy (*halójitre*). This act takes place in the woods while the husband and wife are out hunting or collecting, for it is considered improper to have sexual intercourse in public, even at night around the common camp fire. If a shaman should see a couple in 756 sexual embrace while practicing his rites it would 833 spoil his power. Although shamans use a special hut when calling their *anénsu* there is always a chance that they may see a couple in the sexual act, so every effort must be made to avoid this [834] danger. Shamans themselves abstain from sexual intercourse for 2 or 3 days before getting in contact with the spirits.

843 There appear to be no food taboos surrounding pregnancy among the Waklitisu. The husband continues hunting and collecting as usual, but he must avoid working too hard in the field for [847] fear of causing his wife to abort. Women do not practice abortion, and the Nambicuara did not mention any medicines used for this purpose. [832] Honey is considered conducive to sexual vigor and is used by young couples. [842 586] Childless marriages are attributed to sterility in women, and a man may abandon his wife for this reason.

844 Birth takes place in the house, or in the camp if the family is out hunting. Just before expecting the birth of a child the expectant mother drinks [824] the juice of certain herbs which are believed to facilitate birth. The husband and two older women assist in the delivery. The woman kneels on the ground and is supported by her husband. The umbilical cord is tied with a certain vine and then cut with a bamboo sliver. Among the Kitäulhu it is bitten off by one of the midwives. The placenta is buried at the place of birth and when the umbilical cord dries and falls off, it, too,

844 is buried in the camp. The child is bathed, and
tiny washers made of tucum nut hull are placed
[304] on its ear lobes. The washer or ring is cut on
an angle so that the two points eventually press
through the lobe creating a hole. As the child
grows, new washers are added. After a few weeks
[551] the child is given a beaded necklace, but it is not
named, being known only as the child of so-and-so
until puberty, when it receives a name. The
Waklítisu appear to have no avoidances following
the birth of a child, although the Kitánrhu are
[845] said to practice a modified form of couvade.
Twins are accepted with satisfaction. Illegitimate
[848] children are likewise accepted and are cared for
by the girl's parents until she marries. No stigma
appears to be attached to an unmarried mother;
however, this attitude may be a recent develop-
[845] ment. Crippled or malformed babies are not
[847] killed, but usually die shortly after birth.

Children are nursed until they are 2 or 3 years
853 old or until another child is born. Women in the
band assist one another in nursing and taking
care of the infants. If a woman should have two
small infants, another woman who has lost her
child will nurse one of them. Small children are
854 carried on the hip of the mother, sitting on a
strap which passes over the opposite shoulder of
the mother. This strap which is made from
embira bark or woven cotton is about 4 inches in
width. Women evidently are accustomed to
carrying heavy loads, for on many occasions the
tiny women were observed carrying not only their
child but also a huge burden basket full of fire-
wood. When the child gets a few teeth it begins
to chew on a piece of broiled meat. One morning
while Kaoro and I were debating what to do with
a rat which we had caught in a box trap the
night before, neither of us having the courage to
put our hand in the box, one of the missionaries
suggested we give it to the Nambicuara. Kaoro
then carried the box over to Julio's camp and gave
it to one of his wives. Without any hesitation
853 the woman put her hand in the box, pulled out
252 the rat, banged its head on the box, and threw it
on the coals of her fire. After the hair had been
partially singed off she pulled it out, cut off its
tail with her thumb nail, and gave it to her
cowife's baby, who began sucking on it as if it
had been a piece of candy. Then with her thumb

853 nail she opened the rat and threw the viscera and
252 the rat on the coals. Within 15 minutes that
rat was eaten, entrails and all, while Kaoro and
I looked on in a state of horrified fascination.
[862] Children thus begin by eating broiled meat and
fish; pieces of sour, gritty manioc cake are given
to them at a more advanced age.

PUBERTY

881 When a boy reaches the age of 14 or 15 he has
[304] his upper lip and the septum of his nose pierced
with a sharpened fibula of a monkey ("macaco-prego"). One man holds the boy's arms, another his head, while an older male relative performs the piercing. Small plugs of bamboo are then placed in the holes. The following night the shaman leads the band in singing and dancing. Food is prepared in large quantities and offerings are made to the ghosts who are believed to be present
[553] at the ceremony. The boy is now given a name
which he will keep throughout his life. If the boy's father is dead he will use his father's name. If the father is alive he will use the name of some dead member in his grandfather's generation. In this way names are passed from one generation to another. An important part of the boy's puberty ceremony is the ritual beating administered by the old men of the band. He is now permitted to take part in the singing and can be present when the sacred flutes are played in the flute hut. Although this creates an attitude of obedience to the older men, he still continues to be abusive toward the women of the band. His unmarried female cross cousins now begin to notice him and openly show their desire to go hunting with him.

The puberty ceremony for girls is much more elaborate. After a girl has her first menses her father builds a small hut in the center of the camp, in which the girl is secluded. She must remain in this hut day and night and is attended by her
[202] female relatives. The chief then calls all members
of the band together, even sending messengers to distant hunting parties. When the band is united the chief organizes a hunt in which all the men take part, and they must remain away from the
[251] camp until the moon is full. While on the hunt
they accumulate a great quantity of smoked meat. When the moon is full, the men send a messenger to the camp to whom the women give some of the

881 baked manioc and other food which they have been preparing. When the messenger leaves with the food it is a sign that the men will return to camp after sunset.

[302 314] Before the men arrive the women wash the girl and paint her with a mixture which includes latex from the rubber tree. A series of dots are painted on her face, breasts, abdomen, and thighs (pl. 6, *c* and *d*). When the men come in they dance in front of the girl's hut. She then comes out and is given a name and everyone tries to give her a necklace or some other object. During the night men and women join in the dance, holding hands and dancing in a circle, the dance steps being stamped out with the right foot in the direction in which the circle is moving. A special puberty song is also sung.

881 841 278 The Nambicuara tell of a strange medicine known only to the shamans which is given to girls during the puberty ceremony. It is a blue liquid which, when taken internally, stops menstrual bleeding for the remainder of the girl's life. The Waklítisu claim that they do not use it but that the other Eastern Nambicuara band do. The missionaries informed me that the Kitanrhu use this medicine, and the missionaries seemed to think that it was effective.

MARRIAGE

582 585 There is no special marriage ceremony, for when young people go through the puberty rites they are ready for marriage and a mate is selected for them by their parents. 584 585 The young man, who is to become the husband of a girl just out of seclusion, goes to her parents and helps his future father-in-law build a small hut, and when it is finished the young man tells the girl to come out hunting with him. She takes a burden basket and they go off into the woods. In the afternoon the man builds a fire and tells the girl to prepare some food and honey. After the food has been eaten he tells the girl to come and lie beside him near the fire. She is supposed to resist and he takes a stick and threatens her. He then has sexual intercourse with her, and when they come back to camp that night they are accepted as a married couple. [587] When wives are acquired by inheriting the widow of a brother or by abduction from other bands, no ceremony is held.

[p. 104 (A)]

BURIAL

763 When it is seen that a person is about to die
the women wail for a while and then they all
turn their backs to the dying person and begin
764 to divide up his belongings. The corpse is buried
in a grave dug in the village or camp site. The
men loosen the soil with sticks and scoop out
the soil with gourds until a roughly rectangular
grave about 5 feet deep is dug. The men who
lower the body into the grave take three balls
of soil from the bottom of the grave with which
they rub their legs and backs. A man's decorations
are placed in the grave with him. In the
case of a woman, two or three gourds are placed
at her feet. The grave is then covered. A man's
bow and arrows are broken and left on the grave.
The rest of his belongings are burnt nearby and
the people go on a hunt for a few days. A bit
of buriti fiber is left to mark the grave of a boy,
although nothing appears to be left over the
grave of a woman or a girl.

775 The ghost remains around the grave for several days and then goes to the sacred mountain where all the ghosts live. In the land of the dead the ghosts have fine necklaces, and nose feathers, and are always painted with urucú. But they do not wish to be forgotten and want the living to give them food. The Nambicuara do not fear ghosts, and like to have them participate in their ceremonies.

764 Two days before we left Utiarity, Marciano died. He was one of our best informants, the least morose and most helpful. A week earlier he caught cold which turned into pneumonia. It was pitiful to watch this naked man lying in the dirt beside a fire slowly gasping out his life. Once in a while he became conscious and tried to sing, calling the spirits to help him. About 9:30 that night he died. As there is something symbolic in his death and burial I would like to end this account of the Nambicuara with an entry from my diary dated July 30, 1949.

> This morning we all went to the burial, the Jesuit priests, the Protestant missionaries, some of the Brasilians, and Kaoro and I. We dug a grave at an old Nambicuara camp site about a half a mile from Utiarity. As we walked along the telegraph line bearing Marciano's body the sabiá were singing and the air was full of the sweet odor of the timbó vine. Wrapped in a ragged blanket Marciano was lowered into his grave along with his

764 necklace and a few rusty cans, the grave was covered, and there we left him a few feet from the grave of his first wife who had died in the measles epidemic four years before. Then Julio, the chief, told all his people to gather around the grave and as he walked around it he told Marciano that here he had water and sunshine, and that after a few days he would be with the ancestors around

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764 the stone mountain at Juruena. The white men had not a word to say. It seemed that we were not burying just an Indian but a race, older and more simple in its way of life than its Arawak- and Carib-speaking neighbors. And the telegraph line beneath which Marciano rests is the symbol of all those forces which destroyed him and are slowly destroying his brothers.

[P. 105 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Borоro Sp 8

THE UMOTINA

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[p. 106 (A)]

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THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HABITAT

131 The Umotina, who call themselves the Balorié,
are settled today in the Indian Post of Fraternidade
[101] Indigena near Barra do Bugre on the Paraguay
River west of Cuiabá. Before coming to the
Post they occupied a village at Tira Santida just
[197 below Tres Barras. The Umotina, who today
161 number about 65, are related linguistically to the
Bororo who live directly to the east of them. In
184] two respects, at least, they differ sharply from
their neighbors—they have a pure Hawaiian-type
142 kinship system and are pronouncedly dolichocephalic.
The local Brazilians call them the Barbados,
owing to their beardedness.

361 In the old days the village (*mukimo*) was built
on the bank of a river and consisted of two rows of
621 houses separated by a narrow plaza. The house
342 (*ishipá*) was rectangular with a gabled roof coming
down to the ground, the whole being covered with
pacova palm fronds except the two ends which
were left open. This house type is the same as that
formerly found among the Guató who live to the
south of the Umotina. Each family had its own
house, the occupants sleeping on mats spread on
[374] the ground. The husband kept a fire going all
night not only for warmth but also to drive away
the mosquitoes.

291 In the past men wore no clothes but after
puberty used a penis sheath (*bakyotókwa*) made
from a buritf palm leaf. The foreskin was pulled
over the glans, and the leaf was wound around it
[834] and fastened with twine, the purpose being to hide
the end of the penis from the women. Men
302 wore their hair long, tied in a knot at the
back of their heads, and allowed their beards to
grow; but eyebrows, eyelashes, and pubic hair
[304] were plucked out. The lobes of the ears and the
lower lip were pierced. Women, on the other hand,
cut their hair short, and plucked out their eyebrows
and eyelashes but not their pubic hair.
291 Women wore a knee-length skirt (*imetá*) made
from woven cotton. Like the men, the women
304 had their ear lobes pierced.

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301 The principal ornaments used by men consisted
of beautifully made feather ear pendants (*imitúta*)
[237] about 6 inches long, jaguar-teeth necklaces (*okopó*),
necklaces made from human hair (*pasosó*), and cotton
arm bands worn above the biceps. A short
bamboo lip plug was worn in the lower lip. A
crude comb, *putúka*, was made by binding together
with human hair four siriva wood spikes about 5
534 inches in length. During dances the men fastened
rattles made from tapir and peccary hoofs to
their ankles. Women wore feather ear pendants
and "store"-bead necklaces. Some of these ornaments
are still worn by the old men.

ECONOMICS

AGRICULTURE

241 The traditional food crops of the Umotina
included such plants as bitter manioc (*otuíyo*),
sweet manioc (*otuíyo biboróno*), maize (*omatáka*),
black and red beans (*dumaták*[illegible]), sweetpotatoes
(*balarkúpo*), and cará (*tapatúku*). In addition,
they cultivated gourds (*podri*), cotton (*akydmani*),
[276] and urucú (*nodókahírika*). Tobacco was not
grown, as the Umotina did not smoke in the past.
222 The food supply was further augmented by the
collection of a wide variety of roots, nuts, and
fruits, including the pic[illegible] (*heír*), mangaba (*batorúkwa*),
and the "marmelo" (quince, *hashorúkwa*).
237 Honey (*peíru*), was considered a delicacy and
collected particularly before ceremonies.

241 Fields were cleared in the forest, but instead of felling the large trees, the branches were trimmed off in order to let in the sunlight. The undergrowth was beaten down with a wooden sword club (*dntho*) made from the wood of the siriva palm. In September the dry cut-over was burnt, and with the use of only a digging stick (*tápu*), the planting began. Maize was planted first; three or four seeds were put into a hole about 6 inches deep in order to protect them from birds. Manioc was planted by putting two pieces of stalk into a hole prepared with a digging stick. The field was weeded about a month later, after which the

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241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular burití fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *jukupóto*, "beizhú." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 The siriva palm wood bow (*boíka*) is used in
fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in
[726] war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in
length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness
in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval,
often somewhat more flat on the inner side.
Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with
age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight
[283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the
bowstring (*boíko*) made from tucum fiber, the
extra length being wound above the handhold.
The 5-foot arrow (*ísho*) is made by fixing a notched
411 canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft.
224 This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir,
jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those
used in fishing are feathered with urubú or mutúm
feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split
and the halves are fastened to the arrow with
twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which
are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*búkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (A)]

224 [231] Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups, but in former times did not use dogs.

462 [323] [285] Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes, all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men and women make baskets of two types. One, shaped like the pots, called *kothodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buritī palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing [286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for [283] making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton, using the spindle (*hálaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 721 [623] In the past the chief (*hutorikána*) was not only an economic and ceremonial leader but a war leader as well. Although the son of the chief had a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an [714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When [727] attacking they killed the men but sometimes [301] kept some of the younger women. They cut off the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to [266] make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]

601 sister (*ashimbé*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manundó*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other families. 591 After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys [606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were [627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*uwasé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

773 *Aípuku* then made holes in the ears of the *abusé*, but the *uwasé* refused to have their ears pierced. He then asked them to live with him, but they refused. The *abusé* went north, and the *uwasé* went south. *Aípuku* was sad because his children disobeyed him. It is interesting to note that the *abusé* and *uwasé*, who were the traditional enemies of the Umotina, came from the sores in *Aípuku's* legs, were unasked for, and were disobedient. After creating all the people, *Aípuku* and his wife left.

In the old days the Umotina did not have maize. One day when a woman was out in the woods collecting she found some sucurí (anaconda) eggs. She thought that they were birds' eggs and put them in the basket which she carried on her back. The eggs broke, leaked down her back and into her womb. She became pregnant and gave birth to a snake. She liked the snake very much because it was her child and could talk. In order to hide it from her sons she let the snake go into her womb. One day, however, the sons saw the snake as it went up into a burití tree to collect nuts. They asked their mother who it was. At first the woman denied seeing it, but her sons insisted. Finally she said it was her son. The boys were very angry and said they would kill the snake when they saw it again. The snake heard this while he was hiding in the woman's womb. For a long time the woman carried the snake in her womb but one day it came out and went into the woods to collect burití nuts. The woman's sons saw it, killed it, and cut it into pieces. The mother went into the woods and cried when she saw what had happened to her snake-son. She picked up the pieces and buried them and from each piece a maize plant grew up. She gave the ears to the other women in the village who planted them. Since then the Umotina have had maize.

One day a woman caught a "lambari," a small fresh-water fish. She liked this particular fish very much and, as she had no children, she took it home and hid it under a mat. Soon she heard it crying and when she lifted the mat she saw a boy instead of a fish. For a long time the woman hid the fish-boy from her husband, but the boy insisted on going out and following the man when he went into the woods. One day as he was following the man he called out and asked him

Bororo SP8

773 to wait for him, but the man would not wait and continued walking and whistling. The fish-child returned home and asked, "Why does my father act like this, he does not like me for he always leaves me behind." The mother then explained, "You are not his son, you are a little fish." The boy was very sad and answered, "As I have no father I do not wish to live." He then went out in the woods, climbed a tree, and began jumping from one tree to another until he became tired and fell down and died. The woman went looking for him and found his body and brought it back to her house. The woman was very angry with her husband and explained who the boy was. The husband was sorry for what he had done and both of them went out and buried the fish-boy. From his corpse grew the following crops: Sweet-potatoes from his testicles, pepper from his eyes, and beans from his ears.

GHOSTS

775 When a person dies his ghost (*arumuntú*) goes into the sky, climbing up on a ladder made of sipo vine. The ladder is guarded by a *cotia*, a rabbitlike rodent, who calls out everytime a ghost is going up or down. Another version states that in the old days the ghosts went up the ladder and later came down as living beings, but one day the *cotia* gnawed away the ladder so that when a person dies today he can no longer go into the sky and return to the earth as a living being but must remain here as a ghost. The *arumuntú* sometimes enter the bodies of birds and animals. The ghost of an old bearded hunter is believed to enter the body of a jaguar or an eagle so that he can continue hunting. When a jaguar is killed the Umotina examine it carefully, for they believe that they can recognize whose ghost lived in it.

Some ghosts are good; others are evil and cause sickness. The good ghosts are those who have a living human representative whose body they can enter during the annual *arducto* ceremony and who have living relatives who make offerings
to them. Evil ghosts are foreign ghosts or the
ghosts of Umotina who have died away from the
village or who have no relatives to make offerings
764 to them. When a person dies, the relatives in-
vite some man from another family to bury the
775 corpse. This man then becomes the ceremonial
or spirit father, mother, brother, sister, son, or

[764] daughter depending upon which relative died,
and once every year the ghost returns and enters
775 the body of the person who did the burying and
dances in the *arducto*. But if the deceased has
[782] no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts,
then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

796 Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina
is the *arducto*, which is given every year at the
775 beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities
of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by
[782] the family heads who have ghosts to whom they
must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakúre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arducto;* and the *akakóno* and the *hatóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male
292 spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear
796 long mantles made from buriti leaves, which reach
from the shoulders to the ground. They wear
775 macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above
their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakúre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buriti bark. The *hatóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buriti leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

796 While the dancers are performing at night the
women sing and the men play the flutes (*káto*) and
534 shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in
533 length and is made from taquara. It is played
from the side like a clarinet.

796 The givers of the *arducto* are those men who have
lost relatives since the *arducto* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.

[p. 109 (8)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
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787 The Umotina do not appear to have shamans.
756 Every man is believed able to call up any friendly
ghost. He blows on an armadillo-shell horn and
[534] offers the ghost chicha. That night the man
will meet the ghost in his dreams, who will then
tell him what to do in order to cure himself or a
sick relative.

LIFE CYCLE

843 A month or two before expecting a child a
woman eats only manioc products, maize, and
846 honey; meat and fish being strictly avoided.
These dietary restrictions continue for some
months after the birth of the child. The husband,
however, is free to eat what he wishes.

When a woman feels birth pains she goes into
844 the woods accompanied by her mother or mother-in-law.
Delivery is made in a kneeling position.
The umbilical cord is tied with tucum twine and
cut with a bamboo sliver, the placenta being
buried. The midwife then carries the child and
assists the mother back to the village. The
child is taken near a fire, washed, and its arms and
[845] legs are "pressed into human shape." Twins are
accepted. When the child is a day or two old,
[304] tucum nut washers are put on its ear lobes to
pierce them. These thin perforated disks are the
same in appearance as those used by the Nambicuara.
[553] The grandparents then give the child a
name. The child is carried on its mother's hip
854 and is nursed for 2 or 3 years or until another
[847] child is born. The Umotina gave no information
about using herbal medicines to induce abortion,
nor did they mention anything about infanticide.
[862] The first foods a child eats consist of baked sweet-potatoes,
broiled fish, and occasionally meat.
[855] Children sleep with their mothers until about 5 or
6 years of age.

When a girl reaches the age of puberty she paints
881 herself with urucú and puts on a pair of feather
[301 ear pendants to let the young men know that she
302] has come of age. She is not secluded by her
parents nor is a public ceremony held. When
[304] a boy reaches the age of 15 or 16, an old male
relative pierces his lower lip with a bone awl.
The family then invites the villagers to a feast.
[431] The visitors must bring arrows, which they present
to the young man.

[p. 110 (W)]

584 Young men choose their future wives. When
a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself,
puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house,
and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without
touching her. Next morning the parents of the
girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man.
If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young
man to go out hunting. The mother observes
the young man's behavior and success in hunting.
[585] When the young man has brought in enough game
he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter
considered her husband. He remains with his
[591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law
has sons of his own they go out in marriage.
[606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's
lives, for one man told me that when one goes
into the spirit world one asks first about one's
mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to
wail around his mat. The friends of the dying
then come and participate in the wailing. A
relative of the dying person then selects a nonrelative
764 to bury the corpse. This man, who is
called *motohdto*, asks other men to help him and
they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of
the house using sword clubs for digging. The
body is then painted and the decorations are put on,
the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they
rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is
placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four
layers of sleeping mats (*pápurúna*) and is lowered
into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped
in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her.
The grave is left open for one day so that friends
and relatives can continue crying over it. The
768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old
one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon
how well the deceased person was regarded by his
or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured

775 another while living, he might be punished after death by having his ghost killed. There appears, thus, to be a relationship between the life of the ghosts in the spirit world and the tensions existing between the families which were not direct kin with one another. Even while alive the ghosts

[p. 111 (a)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo Sp8

TP punished evildoers. If a man does an injury to another, the injured man's father's or brother's ghost would come at night and beat him. To be sure that one's ghost would survive, the Umotina say a man must be good to his relatives and must not quarrel with the people in the village.

[p. 111 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

KINSHIP CHARTS

000

[p. 111 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

128 Charts 1 to 14 give kinship terms of the Camayura, Bacairi, Nambicuara, and Umotina, and other northern Mato Grosso tribes. (See pp. 112-120.)

[p. 111 (D)]

AWETO SP6

109
197

[p. 112]

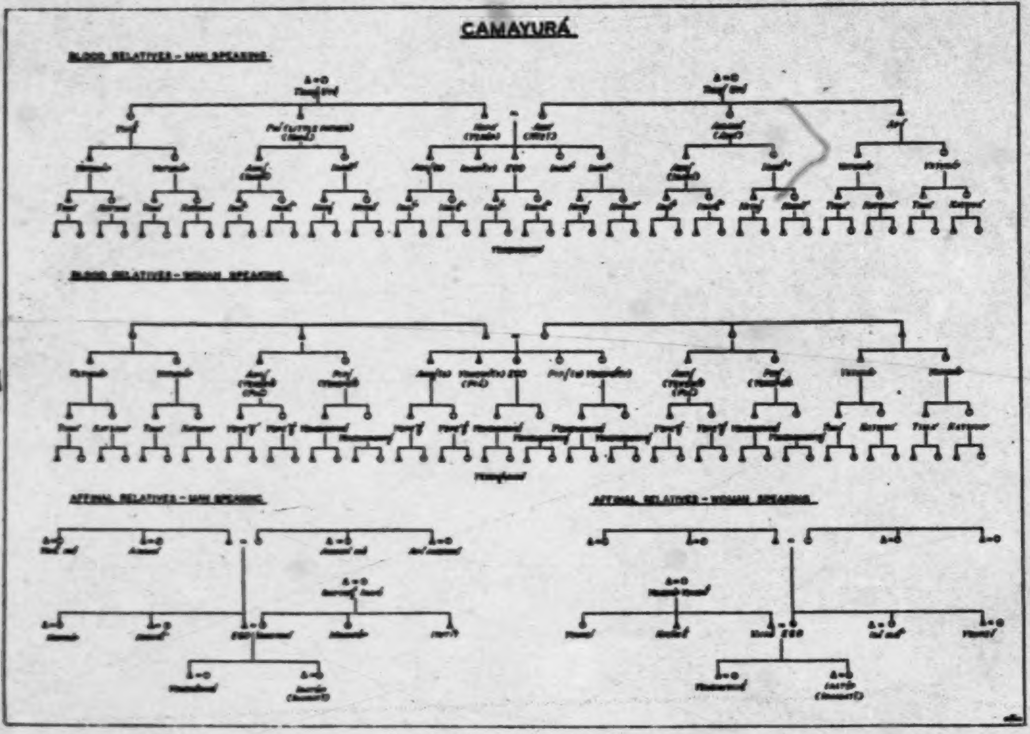
CAMAYURÁ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 1.—Camayurá, Tupi-speaking.

GDI
197

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL—OBERG

Aueto SP6

[P.113]

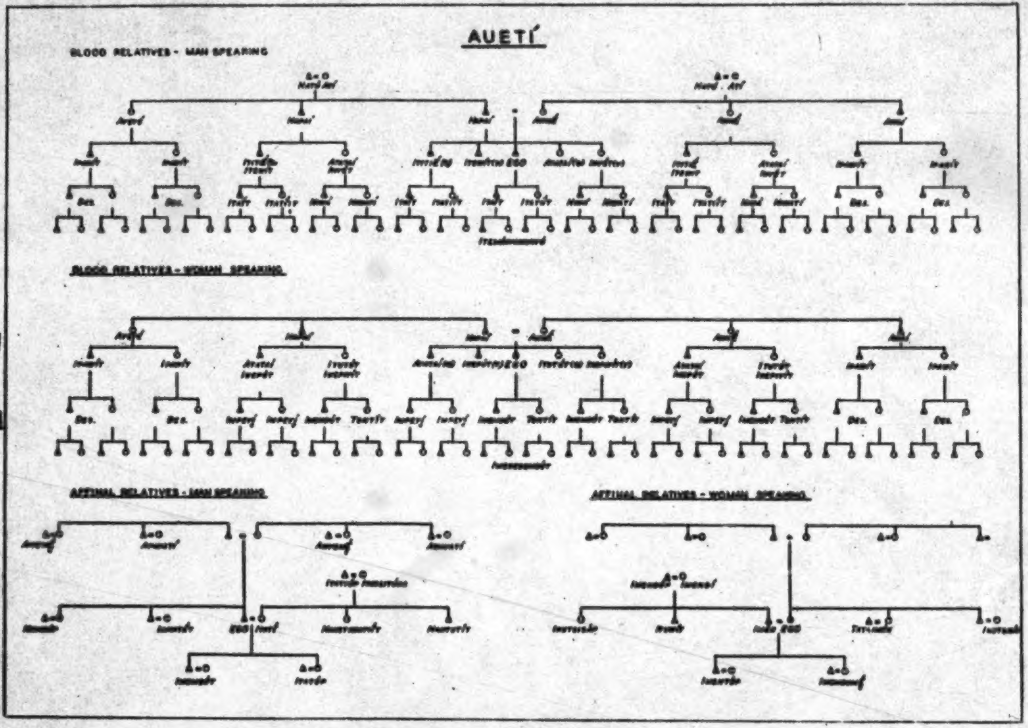
AUETÍ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 2.—Aueti, Tupi-speaking.

BACAIRI SP7

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

601
197

[p.114]

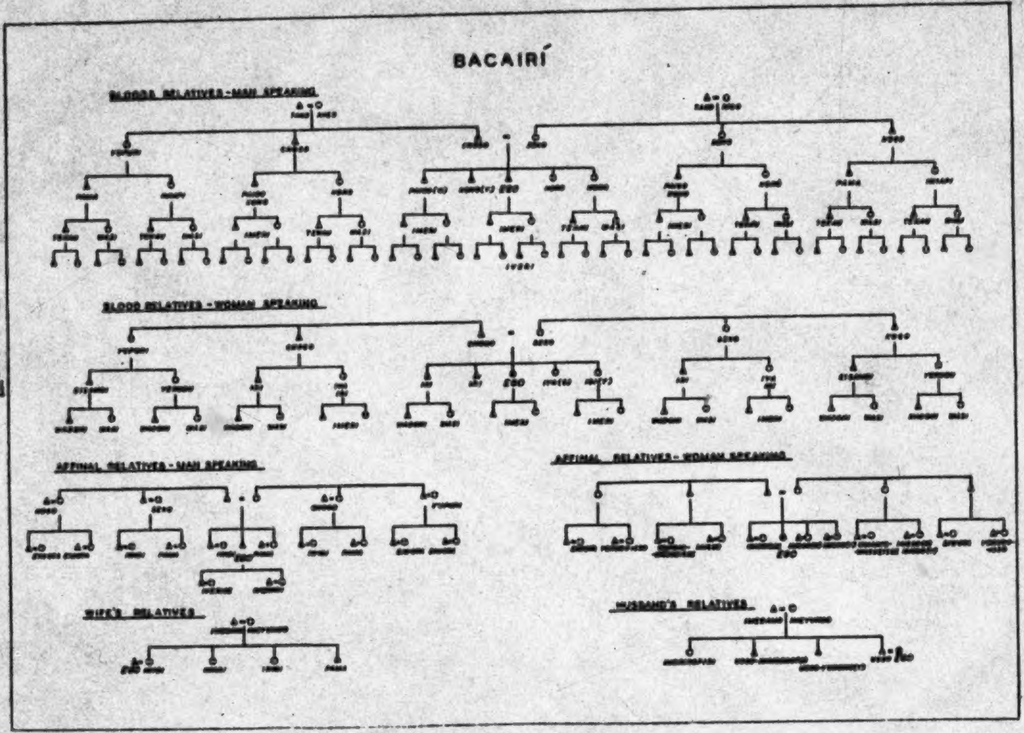
BACAIRÍ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO
WIFE'S RELATIVES
EGO
HUSBAND'S RELATIVES
EGO

Chart 3.—Bacairí, Carib-speaking.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
YARUMA SP25

601
197

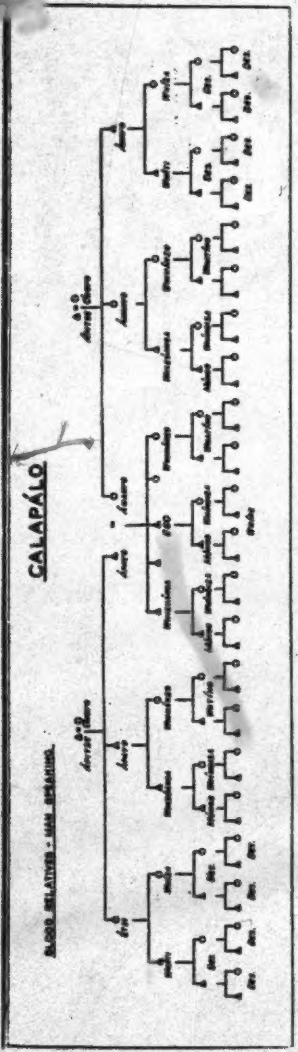
CALAPÁLO
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO

Chart 4.—Calapálo, Carib-speaking.

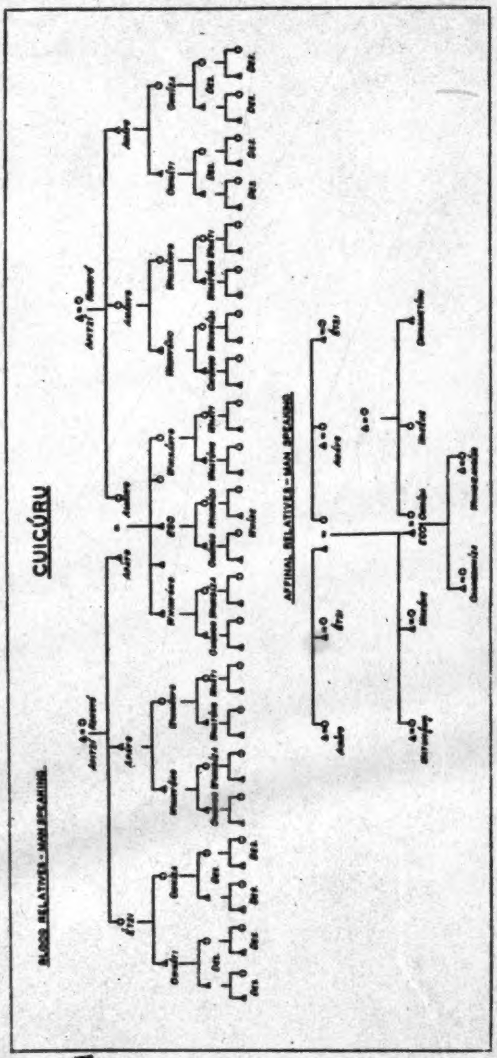
CUICÚRU
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING

Chart 5.—Cuicúru, Carib-speaking.

[P. 115]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Waura SP18
199
197

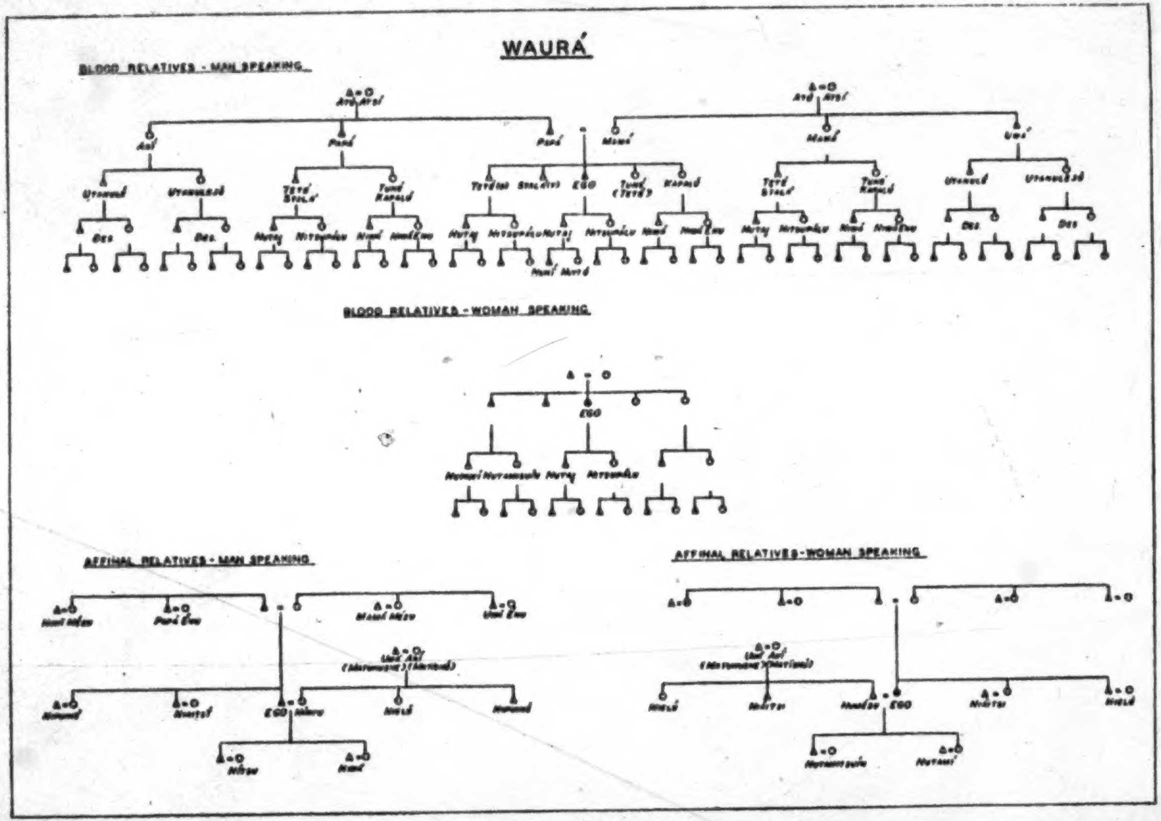
WAURÁ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
Papá
Papá
Mamá
Mamá
EGO
Des.
Des.
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 6.—Waurá, Arawak-speaking.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

601
197

Wauta SP18

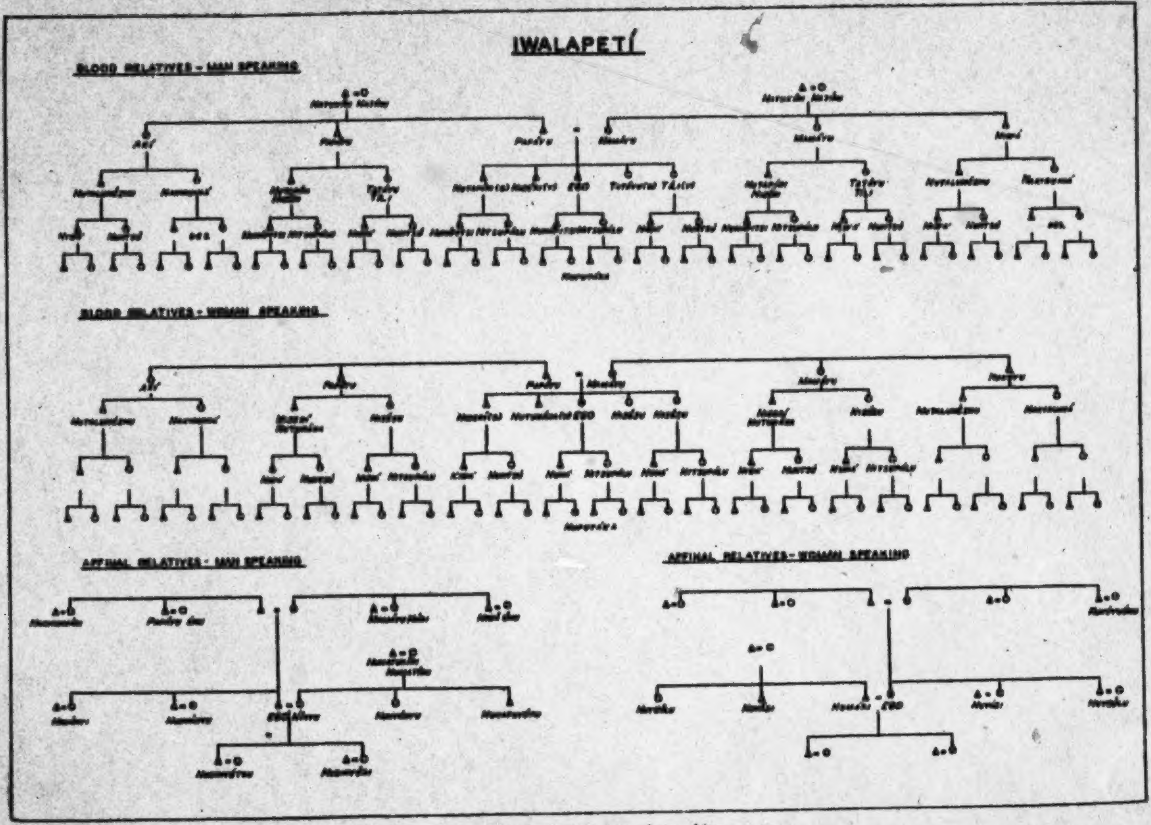
IWALAPETÍ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 7.—Iwalapetí, Arawak-speaking.

Paressí SP19

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

601
197

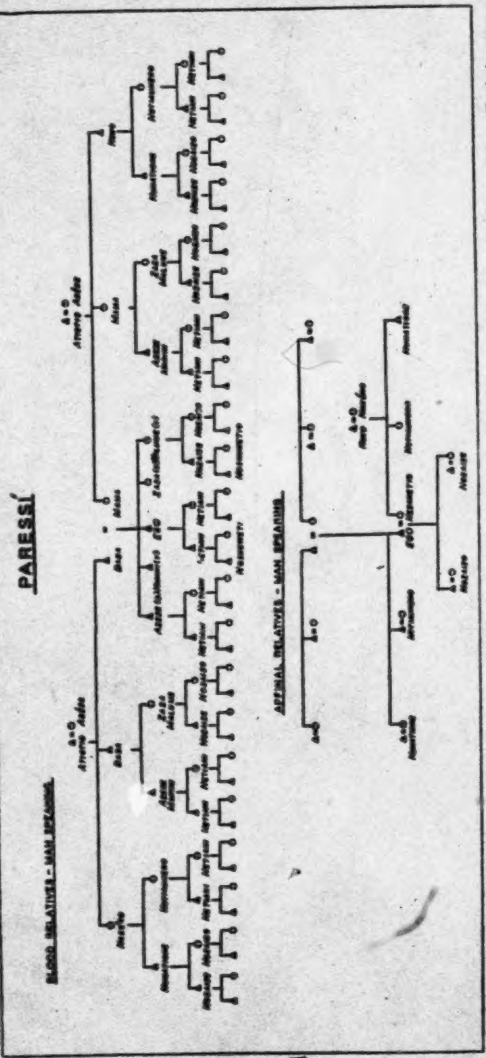
PARESSÍ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINIAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 8.—Paressí, Arawak-speaking. Husband, *Nesanene*. Sometimes *Nodje* is prefixed to *Mariní* to designate younger brother or sister. To designate son or daughter, *Enamokost* (male) or *Okiromohost* (female) is suffixed to *Netiani*.

[p. 118]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

TRUMAI SP23

601
197

[p. 119]

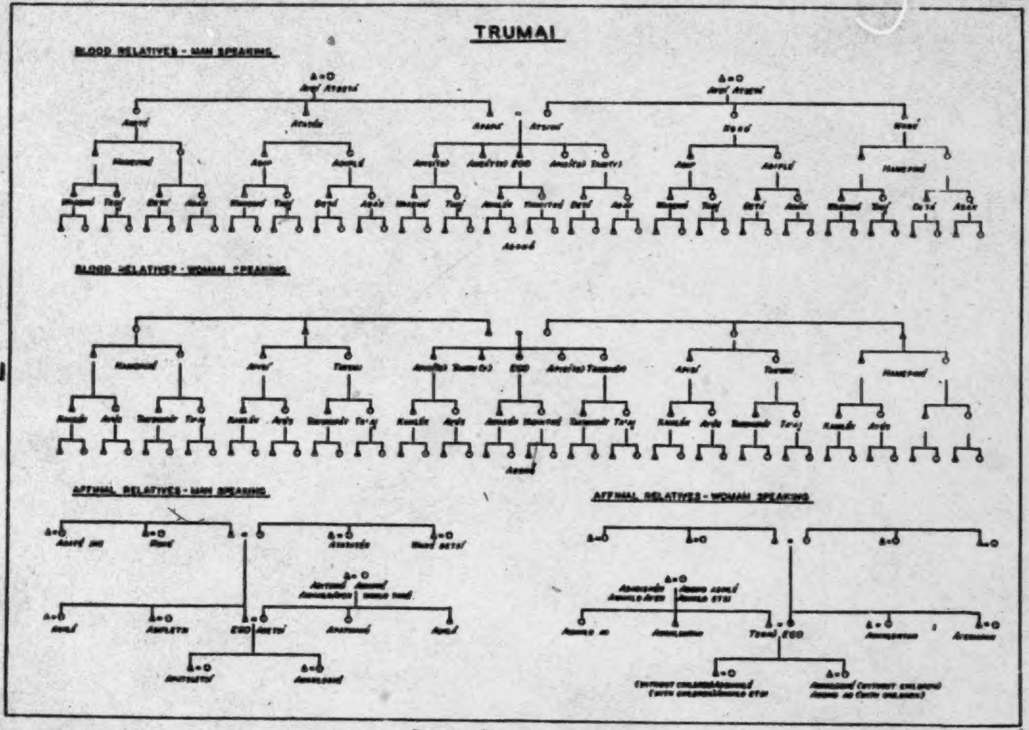
TRUMAI
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

GUATO SP15

109
1977

[P.120]

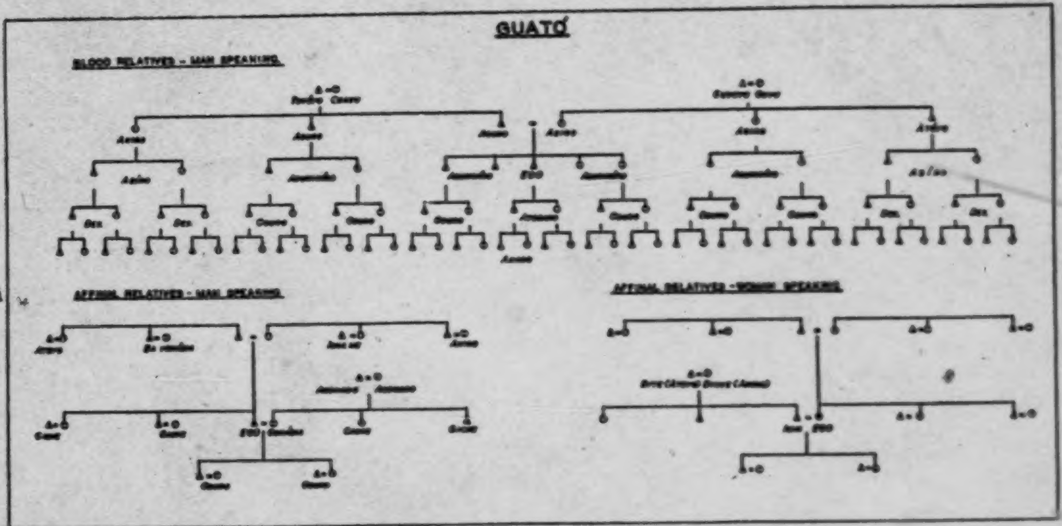
GUATÓ
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING.
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING.
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING.
EGO

CHART 10.—Guató, unrelated. To designate male and female, gedo (male) and gehadia (female) are added to brothers, sisters, cross cousins, sons, daughters, and grandchildren.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP6

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197

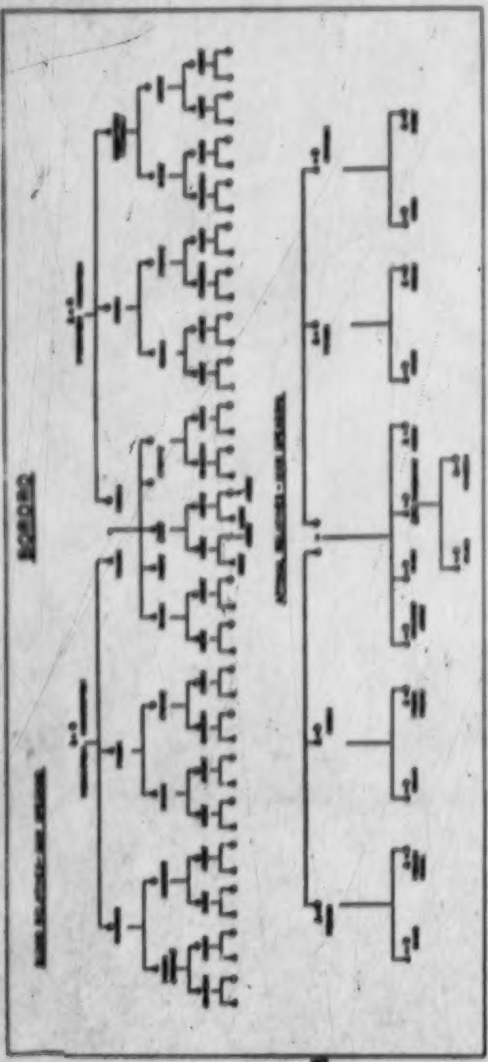

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

[p.121]

601
197

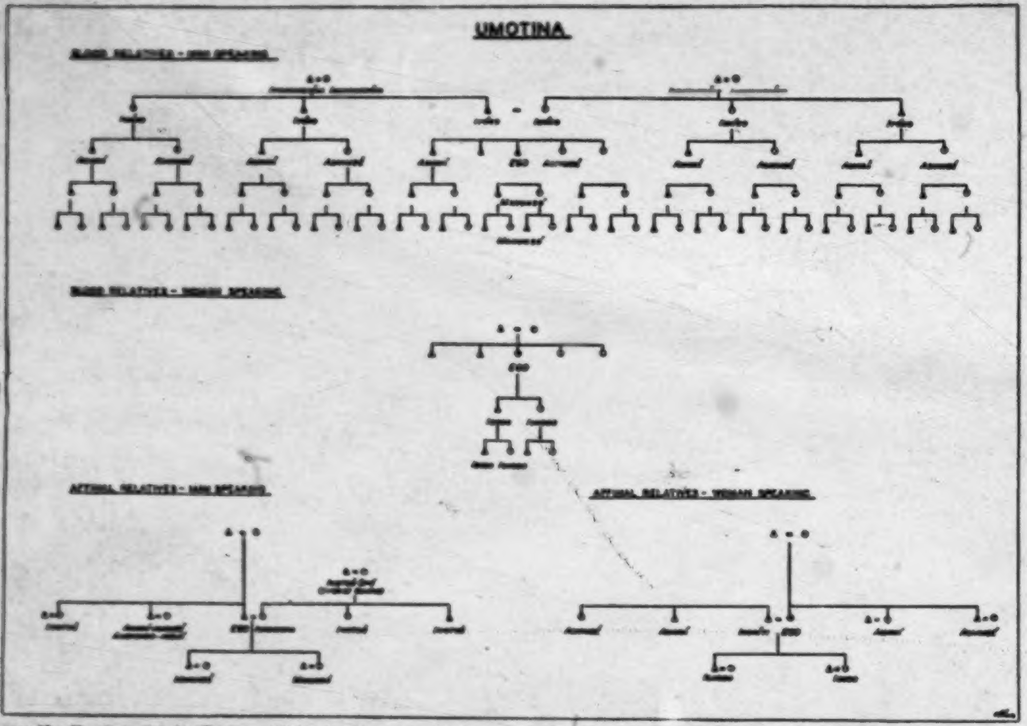
UMOTINA
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 12.—Umotina, related to Bororo. *Abi* (brother) is considered more respectful than *Amand*. *Ambiendo* is used to designate younger brothers. *Ambiendo* and *Abidi* designate younger sisters. *Pareyo* is added to *Menuadi* to designate son or grandson. *Omunadi* is added to *Menuadi* to designate daughter or granddaughter.

[p.122]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Paressi SP19

601
197

[p. 123]

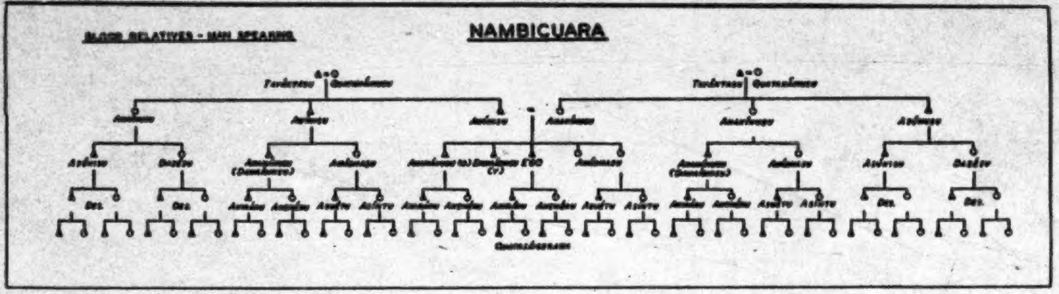
NAMBICUARA
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
Des.

CHART 13.—Nambicuara, unrelated (?). Husband, *Amedíen.* Wife, *Asetu.* Father-in-law, *Asénuru.* Mother-in-law, *Ahsinuru.*

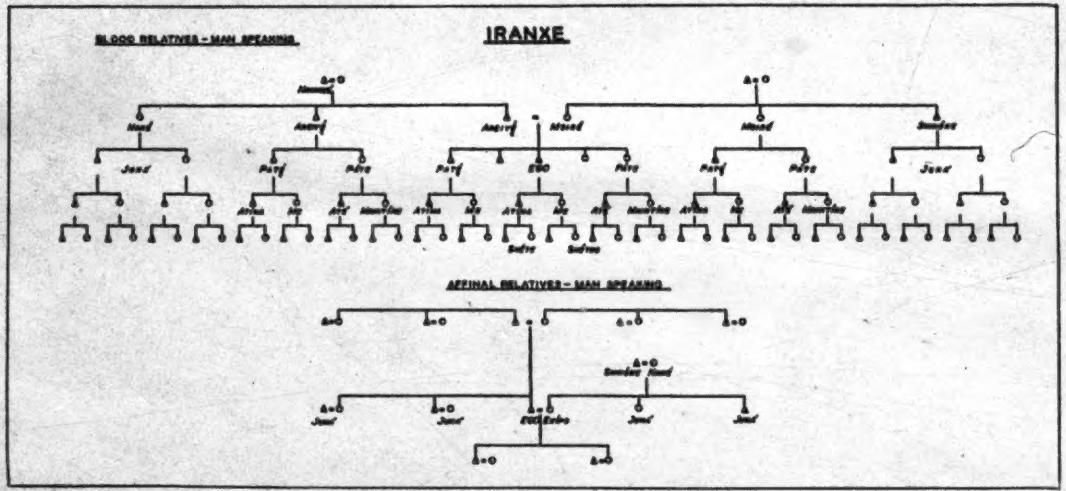
IRANXE
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
EGO

CHART 14.—Iranxe, possibly Arawak-speaking. Husband, *Inúma.*

APPENDIX 1

RESOURCES OF THE NAMBICUARA

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824

AGRICULTURAL FOOD PLANTS

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Amendoim	Peanuts	*Arachis hypogaea*	Wáíkisu.
Araruta	Arrowroot	*Maranta arundinacea*	Yaláosu.
Batata doce	Sweetpotatoes	*Ipomoea batatas*	Wisu.
Cará		*Dioscorea* sp	Ha'kisu.
Fava	Beans	*Phaseolus lunatus*	Kwä'su.
Mandioca brava	Manioc	*Manihot esculenta*	Walidnsu.
Milho	Maize	*Zea mays*	Kayátsu.

AGRICULTURAL NONFOOD PLANTS

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Algodão	Cotton	*Gossypium* sp	Kdunsu.
Fumo	Tobacco	*Nicotiana tabacum*	E'tsu.
Cabaça	Gourd	*Lagenaria siceraria*	Kad'é'hensu.
Urucú		*Bixa orellana*	D'undksu.

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824

WILD FOOD PLANTS (FRUITS)

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Ananás	Pineapple	*Ananas comosus*	Kuáhisu.
Babaçú		*Orbignya martiniana*	Wainafkisu.
Bacaba		*Oenocarpus bacaba, distichus*	Wédnsu.
Bocaiuva		*Acrocomia eriocantha*	Haldnkisu.
Buriti (mata)		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Héuru.
Cajú-do-campo	Savanna cashew	*Anacardium nanum*	E'hru.
Cajú-do-mato	Forest cashew	*Anacardium giganteum*	Dauníkisu.
Cumbarú		*Dipteryx odorata*	Najgisu.
Fruta-do-lobo		*Solanum lycocarpum*	Kdnakisu.
Jaboticabeira	Jaboticaba tree	*Eugenia cauliflora*	Alihdnisu.
Mangabeira	Mangaba tree	*Hancornia speciosa*	Shikidíligosu.
Marmeleiro-do-campo	Quince tree	*Maprounea brasiliensis*	Tãohis.
Marmeleiro-do-espinho	do	do	Kad'l'kisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Wallikisu.
Marmeleiro	do	do	Halu'kisu.
Piquizeiro	Piqui tree	*Caryocar brasiliensis*	A'hru.
Petalas brancas de arbusto			Alányatsu.

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Buriti		*Mauritia flexuosa; M. vinifera*	Yãlasu.
Camaleva		*Guadua* sp	Kadikatsu.
Cipó		*Philodendron imbe*	Kasósu.
Fluva-do-mata (Paripará)		*Jacaranda copaia*	Hala'su.
Sapé		*Imperata brasiliensis, contracta*	Kadakidansu.
Seringueira	Rubber tree	*Hevea brasiliensis*	Walikikatsu.

[p. 124]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

WILD PLANTS USED IN MANUFACTURE—Continued

137
824

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Siriva		*Syagrus speciosa*	Dugndágatsu.
Taquara para ponta de flecha	Bamboo for arrowheads		Kayãsu.
Taquara para flauta secreta	Bamboo for sacred flute		Ka'd'inensu.
Taquara para panpipe	Bamboo for panpipe		Wasingatsu.
Tucum		*Astrocaryum tucuma*	Haló'tsu.

PLANTS USED FOR DRUGS AND POISON

278

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Timbó		*Paullinia pinnata*	Káuntu.

PLANTS USED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC WAYS

137
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Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Lixeira			Kalínasu.
Embira			Sa'hiu.

MAGICAL PLANTS

[789]

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Paratudo			Inháukõdãosu.

ANIMALS HUNTED FOR FOOD[3]

136
262
825

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Anta	Tapir	*Tapirus terrestris*	Aldnsu.
Ariranha	Otter	*Pteronura brasiliensis*	Diwisu.
Bugio		*Alouatta ursina*	Ihru.
Caititú	Peccary	*Tayassu pecari*	Y'ákisu.
Camondongo	Mouse	*Mus musculus*	Sáuhlu.
Capivara	Capybara	*Hydrochoerus hydrochaeris*	O'nsu.
Coati	Coati	*Nasua narica*	Kaisu.
Cotia	Rodent	*Dasyprocta aguti*	Dáhru.
Coatá		*Ateles ater*	Hóadasu.
Cuxio		*Ateles paniscus*	Kalinsu.
Jaguatirica		*Felis pardalis chibiguazu*	Ianaráwidnsu.
Lontra	Otter	*Lutra paranensis*	Kwantaálsu.
Macaco-prego	Monkey	*Cebus apella*	Hótsu.
Onça parda	Brown panther	*Felis concolor*	Ianaránenensu.
Onça pintada	Jaguar	*Felis onca*	Ianarátasu.
Ouriço		*Coendou prehensilis*	Holoótasu.
Paca		*Cuniculus paca*	Úlutsu.
Porco de mato			Yákadesu.
Preguiça		*Bradypus tridactylus*	Aláisu.
Rato do chapadão		*Scapteromys gnambiquarae*	Nótasu.
Sagui-piranga		*Midas rosalia*	Takisu.
Tamanduá-bandeira		*Myrmecophaga jubata*	Dãkilisu.
Tamanduá-mirim		*Cyclopes didactylus*	Wáinsu.
Tatú-bola	Armadillo	*Tolypeutes tricinctus*	Núunsu.
Tatú-canastra		*Priodontes giganteus*	Wahráru.
Tatú-cascudo			Sunaisu.
Tatú-liso			A'hru.
Tatú-15-quilos			A'látasu.
Veado campeiro (a)	Deer		Yetáhru.
Veado campeiro (b)	do		Whídisu.
Veado mateiro		*Mazama rufa*	Kuáklisu.

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[3] Other rats yet unidentified are also eaten.

[p.125]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

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825

OTHER ANIMAL FOODS COLLECTED

Portuguese name	English name	Scientific name	Nambicuara name
Gafanhoto	Grasshopper	*Saltatórias*	Kléeusu.
Jacaré	Cayman	*Caiman*	Wákisu.
Jabotí		*Testudo tabulata*	Yutánhru.
Jibóia	Boa constrictor	*Constrictor constrictor*	Wáikisu.
Lagartixa	Lizard	*Anisolepis*	Yenalákadasu.
Lagarto	do		Sinsu.
Larvas de abelha (Jatí)			Walawénisu.
Larvas de besouro em burití			Hínasu.
Larvas de besouro em taquara			Alukínasu.
Larvas de besouro em pau podre			Netiláhátiasu.
Mel	Honey		Du'su.
Sauva	Ant	*Oecodoma cephalotes*	Sawádnsu.
Sucurí	Anaconda	*Eunectes murinus*	D'íhedasu.
Tracajá	Turtle	*Podocnemis dumeriliana*	Hadíkisu.
BIRDS[1]			
Arara	Macaw	*Ara ararauna*	Alañsu.
Ema	Rhea	*Rhea americana*	D'a'su.
Gavião (all species)	Hawk		Taupitá.
Jacú		*Cracidas*	Ala'su.
Jacutinga		*Cumana jacutinga*	Kwáyisu.
Jaó		*Tinamus noctivagus*	Wahótasu.
Macuco		*Tinamidas*	Altsu.
Mutum		*Crax alector*	Wítisu.
Papagaio	Parrot		A'hlu.
Perdiz	Partridge	*Rhynchotus rufescens*	Halutchegngisu.
Periquito (grande)	Parakeet		Sawihru.
Periquito (verde)	do		Kanákisu.
Pombo carijó	Pigeon		Kwaná'su.
Rolinha		*Columbina picui picui*	Wásu.
Seriema		*Cariama cristata*	Kwalátsu.
Tucano (grande)		*Ramphastidas*	Yeladadasu.
Tucano (pequeno)		do	Yeláisu.
FISH			
Peixe	Fish		Áidnsu.
Jaú		*Paulicea lutkeni*	Kwíhru.
Lambarí		*Tetragonopterus jenynsi*	Háru.
	Long-tailed fish		Ayúlunasu.
Matrinchão		*Brycon brevicauda*	Wasíkisu.
Pacú		*Prochilodus*	Kalá'tsu.
Piava			Ünkisu.
Robalo (Traira)		*Hoplias malabaricus*	Áíndasu.

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[1] All birds are eaten except the vulture (urubú).

[p. 126]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

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APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

[p. 127 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Bororo SP8

601 The Bororo are divided into two exogamous
matrilineal moieties—*Cheráide* and *Tugarégede*.
616 A man in the *Tugarégede* moiety calls all men of
his own moiety *tugarége* and all women *tugarére*.
He calls men of the *Cheráide* moiety *cherái* and
women *cheráre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdare*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdarédrogo; drógo* meaning little.

601 There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*yógwa*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *yógwa* is old he becomes a grandfather (*yógwapéga*). If one marries *yógwa's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

[582] Women of the opposite side are called mothers-
in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If
601 old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That
616 is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's
father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*.
Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toredúche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega*; mother's brothers are *yedága*; father's sister's

[p. 127 (8)]

601 616 daughter's husband is also *yeddga*. Boys are *mede*, girls are *aréde*. When they get married one's sister's children become *iwagéda*, moiety-son; and *irágo*, moiety-daughter. *Iwagéda* is also one's son-in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers, *imúga;* sisters before puberty, *itwiye;* and sisters after puberty, *irágo*.

601 Children before puberty are just *mede* (boy) and *aréde* (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's own moiety become *iwagéda* and *irágo*, moiety-son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are called *méde* and *aréde*. These terms are extended to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially when *drógo* (little) is added.

[881] [304] At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite which incorporates him into his own moiety. After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called *irágo*.

616 614

Cheráide clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugaréde clans

1. Arári.
    a. Arurécha búgi wúgi.
    b. Arurécha tchibúgiwúgi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
    a. Tohóreu.
    b. Kúdjagureu.
3. Apibóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

[p. 127 (c)]

APPENDIX 3

600 Anthropometry of the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe, with Comparative Data from Other Northern Mato Grosso Tribes

By Marshall T. Newman

Division of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum

[p. 128 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Brazilian Indians SL4

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In 1949, Kaoro Onaga, under the supervision of Dr. Oberg, measured 22 Umotina (14 males, 8 females), 13 Eastern Nambicuara (7 males, 6 females) of the Waklítisu band, and 5 Iranxe males. The Umotina were measured at Barra dos Bugres, the Nambicuara and Iranxe at Utiarity. Small as these series are, they represent relatively large samples of the groups from which they are drawn. The total Umotina population is about 65, with 34 adults (see p. 106); the Waklítisu band numbers only 18, and the Eastern Nambicuara together total only about 130 (see p. 86). No figures on the Iranxe are available but they are definitely a remnant group.

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The drastic reduction of even the most secluded aboriginal populations in Brazil enhances the value of physical studies already made on them. The present contribution to the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso may be added to the earlier studies by Ehrenreich (1897), Ranke (1910), and Roquette-Pinto (1935). In addition, the Museu Nacional in Rio de Janeiro has unpublished physical data on some of the Upper Xingú tribes, particularly the Camayurá. Vellard (see Imbelloni, 1948, p. 237, ftn.) has unpublished information on three Nambicuara bands. Willems (personal communication) is in the possession of measurements on 40 male Tapirapé. A careful analysis of all these studies should go far in rounding out the physical anthropology of northern Mato Grosso. In the meantime, I have endeavored to fit the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series into the existing knowledge of the area.

[p. 128 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

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GEOGRAPHICAL RELATIONS

Most of the series measured in northern Mato Grosso are from tribes in the Upper Xingú Basin (maps 1, 3). These are the Auetí, Trumai, Bacairí, Nahuqua, and Camayurá. Their present locations are indicated in map 2, (p. 5), and data on their earlier shiftings are given by Lévi-Strauss (1948, p. 322–323). As Oberg has said (p. 6), the fanlike network of rivers constituting the drainage basin of the Upper Xingú River affords no natural barriers and makes for easy intertribal communication by water. But the limits of the Upper Xingú Basin to the east, west, and south are marked by the sandstone plateaus of the Brazilian Shield. These barriers tend to isolate the Basin from the outside world, thus fostering its development as a riverine cultural unit (p. 7).

West of the Upper Xingú Basin, on the semiarid plateau, the Serra do Parecís, are the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara. In earlier times, most of these people were concentrated along the "galeria" forests bordering the headwaters of rivers originating on the plateau. The location of the Iranxe at white contact was immediately north of the Paressí. The Nambicuara were thinly scattered in the less habitable areas west of the Paressí. In contrast to the more populous Upper Xingú tribes, the Paressí, Iranxe, and Eastern Nambicuara are now remnant groups.

Across the semiarid plateau, or Planalto do Matogrossense, which forms the southern barrier

[p.128 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Brazilian Indians SL4

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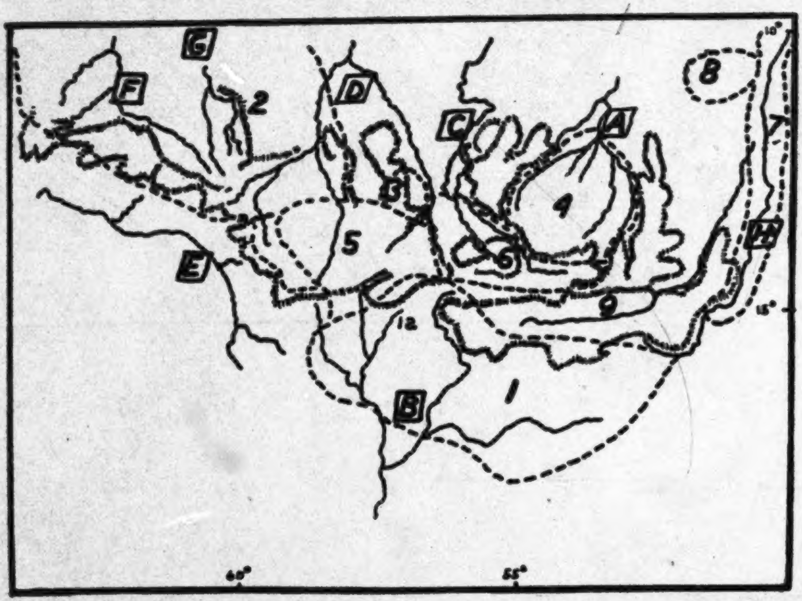

MAP 2.—Schematic map of approximate tribal locations in relation to topography and drainage systems in northern Mato Grosso. Dotted lines indicate tribal boundaries at time of contact (after Steward and Mason, 1950). Hachures indicate the general conformation of the Planalto do Matogrossense. Tribes: 1, Bororo; 1a, Umotina; 2, Nambicuara, 3, Iranze; 4, Upper Xingú tribes; 5, Paressí; 6, Bacairí; 7, Carajá; 8, Tapirapé; 9, Cayapó. Drainage systems (simplified): A, Upper Xingú; B, Upper Paraguay; C, Paratinga-Verde; D, Arinos-Papageio; E, Guaporé; F, Gy-Parapa; G, Theodore Roosevelt; H, Araguaia.

[p. 129 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara SP17

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Brazilian Indians SL4

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of the Upper Xingú Basin, lived the Bororo. With the Guató and others, the Bororo occupied the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay River. As a Bororo subtribe, the Umotina formerly lived between the headwaters of the Upper Paraguay and Sepotuba rivers (Lowie, 1946, p. 419). The São Lourenço group of Bororo, measured by Ehrenreich, inhabited the upper and middle reaches of the São Lourenço River.

To the east of the Upper Xingú Basin, along the Araguaia River, are the Carajá. They are included in this analysis less for their geographic position than for their metric similarity to the Umotina.

[p. 129 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Brazilian Indians SL4

APPRAISAL OF MIXTURE

141 144 Oberg (personal communication) has indicated that no subject with detectable neo-Brazilian admixture was included in the series. The Eastern Nambicuara have had occasional contact with neo-Brazilians only since 1912, and appreciable mixture is most unlikely. While the Umotina have been peaceable only since 1913 (Lowie, 1946, p. 419), Oberg indicated there is a possibility of some neo-Brazilian admixture there, but that such admixture could hardly account for their extreme long-headedness (mean male cephalic index 73.0). This is most reasonable since

[p. 129 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

141 Willems (personal communication) indicates that
no neo-Brazilian series within his knowledge
144 averages less than about 79, even though the Portuguese are the most long-headed nationality in Europe. However, several of the younger Umotina adults show shorter statures and rounder heads[1] than the rest of the series. This suggests some admixture in the Umotina since 1913. Yet Oberg's morphological descriptions (see p. 134) and photographs (pls. 9, 10) give the strong impression that the Umotina as a whole are unmixed. Blood group analyses, such as Da Silva (1949, p. 8) has made on other Brazilian groups, are needed for confirmation.

144 No specific statement has been made concerning the racial purity of the Iranxe. They are a secluded and little-known tribal remnant, whose status is probably comparable to that of their neighbors, the Paressí.

143 For the Upper Xingú Basin, it seems quite
certain that at least those tribes recently blood
144 grouped by De Lima (1950) are unmixed with neo-Brazilians. De Lima studied 377 Upper Xingú Indians—109 Bacairí, 60 Camayurá, 81 Nahuqua, 47 Mehinacu, and 80 Waurá—and found them to be exclusively group O, except for one Bacairí woman with a known neo-Brazilian father. These blood-group determinations, coupled with the secluded position of the Upper Xingú Basin, render it definite that no appreciable neo-Brazilian admixture has occurred there. Furthermore, the Basin was first explored by Von den Steinen's expedition of 1884. Since Ehrenrich was a member of this expedition, his measurements are doubly certain to be of "pure" Indians.

144 Because of the early date of his work, Ehrenreich's measurements on the Paressí and Bororo should represent largely, if not wholly, unmixed Indians, although the Paressí have had contact with neo-Brazilian slave hunters and others since the early 18th century (Métraux, 1948, p. 180). Serological confirmation of the unmixed status of the São Lourenço Bororo, the same group measured by Ehrenreich, lies in their uniform possession of blood group O (Da Silva, 1949, p. 579). The status of the Carajá is less certain. They have been in

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[1] In the male series, field Nos. [illegible] and 11, respectively estimated at [illegible] and [illegible] years of age, have statures of [illegible] and [illegible] cm., cephalic indices of [illegible] and [illegible]. Nos. [illegible] and 7 of the female series, [illegible] and 17 years old, show corresponding figures of [illegible] and [illegible] cm., and [illegible] and [illegible]. From the photographs, No. [illegible] (pl. [illegible], [illegible]), at least, has the appearance of being mixed.

[p. 130 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians SL4

144 contact with neo-Brazilians since 1882 (Lipkind,
1948, p. 180). Golden's (1930) serological work on
143 61 Carajá indicates a really extraordinary fre-
quency of the gene for group B. At first glance,
144 this suggests admixture. Since there is some question as to the technical validity of Golden's determinations (Boyd, 1950, p. 92) it is safer not to use his results as evidence of admixture, or for calculations as to the proportions of the mixing populations. It is important, however, to note that Ehrenreich's measurements of the Carajá were made over 60 years ago, when they were presumably less mixed than when Golden studied them.

Whereas neo-Brazilian admixture can be assumed to have little or no effect upon the tribes whose measurements are considered here, the same cannot be said of intertribal mixture. For example, Oberg believes ". . . that a certain amount of admixture has taken place among the Upper Xingú tribes for a long time" (p. 15). At the time of his visit, about 15 of the 110 Camayurá were from other tribes (p. 15). Tribal shiftings within the Upper Xingú Basin occurred both before and after Von den Steinen's visit, and the general trend has been toward tribal intermixture and concentration of population along the river banks (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 323). Over a long period of time, this sort of genetic exchange would tend to level any physical differences originally present among the tribes of the Upper Xingú Basin.

144 Intertribal admixture centering around the Paressí has also been recorded. In fact, one large Paressí subgroup, the Cozarini, ". . . seem to be a mixed tribe formed by a nucleus of Paressí invaders who absorbed and assimilated Indians from other tribes, mainly Nambicuara . . . . As recently as 1910 . . . the Cozarini still fought the Nambicuara and kidnapped the men for slaves and the women for wives" (Métraux, 1948, p. 349). Other Paressí groups may be considered less mixed with surrounding Indians.

No evidence could be located concerning intertribal admixture in the Bororo, although it must have taken place in the past. It is, however, highly unlikely that the Bororo were ever in contact with the Upper Xingú and other tribes directly to the north across the Planalto do Matogrossense. As for the Carajá, they have traditionally accepted captured women and small children as full tribal

[p. 130 (B)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazilian Indians S24

144 members, and since prehistoric times have maintained themselves against hostile neighbors (Lipkind, 1948, p. 188).

APPRAISAL OF ANTHROPOMETRIC TECHNIQUES

141 Oberg followed Sullivan (1923) in teaching his students to measure, and added head height, minimum frontal and bigonial diameters, sitting height and several other dimensions (tables 1, 2). A Martin-type anthropometer, and sliding and spreading calipers were used. Oberg instructed his students to press the instruments quite tightly over the soft parts in taking a measurement. He periodically checked Onaga's measurements and found they compared very closely with his own.

Oberg suspected that his own location of nasion was low, since he selected the deepest point at the root of the nose. The low means for facial and nasal heights in the Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series bear out this suspicion. Oberg also felt that perhaps he did not achieve a true minimum in the minimum frontal diameter. This seems likely, since the means of the present series are high for this dimension. Head height was taken with the detached segment of the anthropometer from tragion to vertex. For sitting height, the Umotina subjects were seated on a chair, with their feet on the ground. The Nambi-

[p. 131 (A)]

141 cuara and Iranxe sat on a table for the measurement, and presumably had no footrest. In table 1, arm length was calculated by subtracting dactylion height from acromial height; leg length, by subtracting sitting height from stature. The latter, somewhat unorthodox, procedure was used to achieve figures comparable to those of Ranke.

The techniques of the other investigators are more comparable to those of Oberg and Onaga than might be expected. Ehrenreich chose a low location for nasion, on the average of 6 mm. below that of Ranke (1910, p. 96). Judging by Roquette-Pinto's low means for facial and nasal heights (table 1), he also deviated in that direction. It seems most probable that the facial and nasal dimensions measured by Onaga, Ehrenreich, and Roquette-Pinto are closely comparable, although Ranke's higher location for nasion is more in line with orthodox modern procedure. After consulting Ehrenreich, Ranke felt that the only strictly comparable measurements between them were stature, head length, head breadth, bizygomatic breadth, and nasal breadth (Ranke, 1910, p. 96). He considered Ehrenreich's arm lengths overlong and his biacromial breadths overwide, suggesting that Ehrenreich did not get close enough to the bony landmarks. If anything, Oberg's techniques were in the same direction.

[p. 131 (8)]

& Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

141 Brazilian Indians SL4

[illegible]

[p.131 (c)]

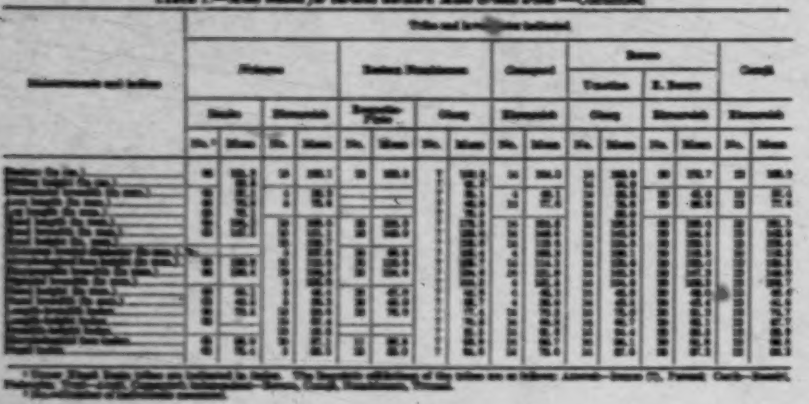
4: Oberg E-5 [1949] 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Brazilian Indians SL4

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY—PUBLICATION NO. 15

141.

Table 1.—*Male means for various northern Mato Grosso tribes*¹—Continued



[p.132 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953

SP17 Nambicuara

Brazilian Indians SLY

141 The means for the present series are given in tables 1 and 2. Individual measurements are recorded on microfilm filed in the Division of Physical Anthropology, United States National Museum.

Table 2.—*Mean measurements, and indices of Umotina, Nambicuara, and Iranxe series*

Measurements and indices	Umotina		Nambicuara		Iranxe
	14 males	8 females	7 males	6 females	5 males
Stature (in cm.)	158.0	152.6	158.6	146.6	162.6
Acromial height (in cm.)	135.5	128.4	130.8	122.1	127.7
Dactylion height (in cm.)	73.5	66.5	60.8	56.6	57.4
Sitting height (in cm.)	83.0	80.8	78.5	76.3	78.6
Suprasternale height (in cm.)	128.9	127.7	129.7	121.3	127.5
Biacromial breadth (in mm.)	348.1	328.9	350.9	310.0	341.6
Chest breadth	283.9	261.5	280.6	244.6	264.2
Chest depth	221.9	197.6	211.3	201.3	209.4
Maximum hip breadth	287.9	280.9	242.3	250.5	242.4
Head length	195.3	182.1	179.3	171.0	181.2
Head breadth	142.9	137.5	138.0	132.5	143.4
Head height	134.6	130.2	138.0	121.3	121.2
Minimum frontal diameter	109.1	103.9	108.4	106.0	102.8
Bizygomatic breadth	140.3	132.9	134.6	128.5	133.6
Bigonial breadth	104.6	98.0	104.3	98.3	97.2
Morphological face height	120.6	110.1	108.7	102.3	109.8
Nasal height	48.6	43.1	45.6	45.7	48.2
Nasal breadth	42.5	37.1	38.7	38.2	39.4
Relative sitting height	53.6	52.0	50.8	51.3	51.2
Relative trunk length	33.0	34.0	32.1	32.5	34.2
Relative leg length	49.5	48.0	49.2	48.8	48.8
Relative arm length	45.0	44.4	43.8	44.2	43.8
Relative biacromial breadth	21.9	21.6	21.9	20.9	22.2
Relative hip breadth	17.2	17.5	15.5	16.0	15.8
Thoracic index	78.4	73.4	76.4	82.7	73.9
Length-breadth index	73.0	75.9	77.4	78.2	79.2
Length-height index	68.7	71.1	70.8	71.0	66.9
Breadth-height index	94.4	94.1	91.5	90.7	84.4
Cephalo-facial index	98.2	96.0	97.8	94.5	92.2
Fronto-parietal index	76.6	75.6	74.9	78.7	71.7
Zygo-frontal index	77.8	78.6	78.9	83.0	77.0
Zygo-gonial index	74.6	73.9	77.5	76.3	72.7
Morphological facial index	86.1	83.0	80.9	80.9	82.1
Nasal index	87.6	86.4	84.6	81.7	81.9

[p.132 (B)]

APPRAISAL OF PHYSICAL DATA

141 Metrically, the tribes of the Upper Xingú Basin appear to be much alike (table 1). This is the more surprising since from the small number of subjects in all but Ranke's Nahuqua (Nahukwa) series one would expect unrepresentative samples and divergent mean figures. It is especially noteworthy that, after due allowances for technical differences are made, Ehrenreich's and Ranke's means for the Auetí, Trumai, and Nahuqua are very similar indeed. Taken as a group, the Upper Xingú series have a mean range in stature of 158–164 cm., with the Camayurá the tallest. The mean cephalic indices cluster closely around 80. All Ehrenreich's series are rather low-headed, with means from 82–87 in the breadth-height index. The highest mean (86.7), possibly a real indication of difference (see below), comes from 7 Trumai males. Ehrenreich's mean facial indices are medium, ranging from 84–87, while Ranke's three series have means of 88 and over, and are probably more correct (p. 131). The same is true of the mean nasal indices, which, for Ehrenreich's series range from 75–78, within the medium category: for Ranke's, from 69–75. The similarities between the Upper Xingú series, on this crude metric basis, suggest that they represent a single racial unit, or part of one. But since Ehrenreich

[p. 132(c)]

Brazilian Indians SL4

141 (1897, pp. 90–91), largely on the basis of facial morphology, characterized the Trumai as a people apart, with their closest racial ties probably in the Chaco, they may not properly belong to the Upper Xingú racial unit. Corroborative of Ehrenreich's view is the Trumai claim that they are newcomers from the south (p. 7).

141
144 The uncertain status of the Trumai is hardly clarified by Imbelloni and his student, Paulotti, who themselves are not in agreement. Probably on the basis of Ehrenreich's remarks, Imbelloni asserted that the Trumai, along with other "grupos vestigiales" in upper South America—

> are distinguished no less clearly by their biological characters: by a skin color perceptibly darker than their agricultural neighbors, and in a few cases lighter, by more disagreeable and cruder facial features, the nose with fleshy and puffy alae, and above all, by a perceptible difference in stature, since their means cluster around 150 cm., and are even less in tribes free from contamination [Imbelloni, 1948, p. 225; translation mine].

Table 1, however, indicates that the mean stature of the Trumai is closer to 160 than to 150 cm., and that they are no shorter than their Tupi-speaking Auetí neighbors. Furthermore, neither Ehrenreich nor Ranke credit the Trumai with skin pigmentation different from that of the other Upper Xingú tribes. It is therefore apparent that Imbelloni's generalization goes beyond the evidence at hand. Contrary to this generalization, Paulotti (1948, p. 84 ftn.) selected the Trumai, because of their allegedly low stature and round heads, as an example of the Amazónido physical type in the Upper Xingú basin. This type, according to Imbelloni's (1938, p. 238) examples, is a recent arrival in South America most commonly found in Tupí-, Carib- and Arawak-speakers. Yet in the same footnote, Paulotti discussed the presence of residual and archaic populations (Láguido and Fuéguido) in the Western Amazon, whose characteristically low stature and *long* heads crop out most strongly in the Trumai, among others! Now all we know about the head form of the Trumai lies in Ehrenreich's and Ranke's figures. Combining them into one mean cephalic index for 21 males, the result is 81.8, hardly long-headed.

If there is sufficient validity in Imbelloni's (1938, p. 238–239) Amazónido type, the Upper Xingú racial grouping should be part of it. Imbelloni's concept of the Amazónido type was

[p. 133 (A)]

B 141 144 derived from Von Eickstedt's Brazilide type. Unfortunately Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 756) has also confused the picture by considering the Auetí and Nahuqua representative of the Lagide or Lagoid type. Bracketed with the Auetí and Nahuqua are the Carajá and Cayapó, and, further afield, the Botocudo and Alakaluf. In addition, the Bacairí are said to show Pampide influence (Von Eickstedt, 1934, p. 757). But no evidence for this is offered. Meager as the series in table 1 are, it seems preferable to use them as the basis for tentative conclusions rather than to indulge in the risky short cuts of second-hand impressionism.

Metrically, the Paressí series appears to tie in well with the Upper Xingú tribes, except that it is somewhat longer-headed, due possibly to assimilation of longer-headed Nambicuara. Tentatively, then, the Paressí may be included in the Upper Xingú racial unit, especially since Oberg (p. 69) has noted the close similarity of the Paressí to the Bacairí. Possibly the Iranxe would also fit into this unit, although the present sample does not adequately indicate it.

N B 141 142 The metric position of the Nambicuara is not wholly clear from the present data. The two Nambicuara series are longer-headed than those from the Upper Xingú Basin, and possibly higher-vaulted (for Oberg's series), shorter-faced and narrower-nosed as well. Their skin color is perceptibly darker than the neighboring Paressí; in fact Oberg stated (personal communication) that when seen together swimming in the river, he could easily sort out the Nambicuara children on this basis. It is quite possible that the Nambicuara represent one of the living groups representative of the Lagoa Santa type (Newman, 1951, p. 90), but confirmation of this must await new findings by Vellard[3] and others.

B 141 144 Oberg (p. 69) has noted the decided contrast between the Upper Xingú and other tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrossense and the "large-framed, coarse-featured" Bororo and Guató to the south. This distinction is probably on a full racial level, as already indicated by Von Eickstedt (1934, p. 731) and Imbelloni (1938, p. 239) who place the latter people with the Pampide or Pámpido type of the Chaco and Pampas.

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[3] Through Imbelloni ([illegible], pp. [illegible]) we learn that in [illegible] Jehan Vellard made physical studies on three Nambicuara bands: The Tagnaní, a Roosevelt river group, and the Sabane. Mean stature for 12 male Nambicuara measured by Vellard is 162.9 cm.

[p. 133 (B)]

Br 141 144

It is curious that the Umotina series is metrically so different from Ehrenreich's São Lourenço Bororo. The former are considerably shorter-statured,[8] longer- and higher-headed, and absolutely and relatively narrower-faced. In these respects, the Umotina are much closer to the Carajá. Yet Oberg noted that the Umotina were lighter in skin color than the tribes north of the Planalto do Matogrossense, while Ehrenreich (1897, p. 79) considered the Carajá the darkest Indians he saw. Because of this and the following description by Oberg, I am hesitant to link the Umotina with people like the Carajá.

Bo Br 141 142

Oberg describes some of the Umotina as having flat Mongoloid faces combined with long heads. These long heads have prominent bun-shaped occiputs; narrow, sloping, pyramidal-shaped foreheads with no frontal bosses; and heavy brow-ridges. The position of glabella relative to nasion was higher than in the other groups he investigated. The upper integumental lip was long. Pronouncedly shovel-shaped incisors were not found. The Mongoloid fold of the eye was absent in some, pronounced in others (pls. 9, *a*, *d*; 10, *b*, *c*). Eye color was dark brown, but lacked the brightness noted in the Nambicuara and Caduveo (p. 85). Wavy hair was common, according to Oberg, but does not appear evident in the photographs (pls. 9, 10). Gray hair was observed only among the old women. Men past middle age showed a tendency for baldness, with recession of the hairline, and thinning of the frontal and temporal hair. Like the neighboring Guató, the old Umotina men had thin but not straggly beards. For this reason the Umotina have been long referred to as "Barbados" by neo-Brazilians.

These descriptions and the metric data suggest considerable physical variability within the Bororo group. Determination of the actual extent of this variability must await further studies.

SUMMARY

Br 141 144

While the Upper Xingú tribes under consideration and the Paressí may have had differing racial origins, the physical data collected over the past 50 years suggest that they now form a racial unit. Possibly the Iranxe could be added to this

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[8] That the São Lourenço Bororo are not a selectedly tall series is suggested by Colbacchini's (1942, p. 142) higher mean stature of 173.0 cm. for an Eastern Bororo group.

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953 Bororo Sp8
SP17 Nambicuara SP17
Brazilian Indians SL4

Br 141 144 unit, if there were more information concerning them. Largely because Ehrenreich (p. 132) considered the Trumai a people apart, I have hesitated to include them with their Upper Xingú neighbors. The racial unit proposed here seems to fit best as part of Von Eickstedt's Brazilide or Imbelloni's Amazónido groups. It is characterized by short stature and, in the Upper Xingú Basin at least, by an unusually heavy thorax and very muscular upper arms in contrast to less well-developed legs (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 100). Head form verges on brachycephaly, and vault heights appear rather low for American Indians. Rather narrow faces predominate, and the nose seems medium-narrow, with a straight or convex bridge. Information on unexposed skin color is not available, but chances are that the Upper Xingú Basin people are rather lightly pigmented. Hair form is straight to low waved, with some curly hair, particularly among the Bacairí (Ehrenreich, 1897, p. 81). Bacairí men, however, are said to sometimes use wooden hair curlers (Lévi-Strauss, 1948, p. 327). Face and body hair are said to be sparse (p. 15).

N 142 144 The Nambicuara stand apart from the Upper Xingú Basin people in being longer-headed and possibly higher-vaulted, shorter-faced, and narrower-nosed. They are also perceptibly darker in skin color. There is a good chance that the Nambicuara represent a remnant of an old South American racial strain, possibly linking with Lagoa Santa.

Bo 142 144 In their greater stature and more rugged bodies and faces, the Umotina, along with other Bororo subtribes, are strikingly different from the more gracile Upper Xingú tribes and the Nambicuara. The Umotina are metrically much closer to the Carajá of the Araguaia River than they are to the São Lourenço Bororo. If the Umotina measurements are no more than slightly influenced by neo-Brazilian admixture, a greater physical variability exists among the Bororo than hitherto has been recognised. Whether the concept of the Pámpido race is sufficiently elastic to include the Umotina is a question best decided by Imbelloni and his coworkers.

Br 144 Viewed from a geographic standpoint (see map 3), the physical anthropology of the Upper Xingú Basin tribes, the Nambicuara and the Bororo fall into an understandable pattern. The

[p. 134 (B)]

144 natural barriers forming the Upper Xingú Basin have fostered the formation of a cultural and racial unit, whatever the original differences between the tribes settling there may have been. Probably pertaining to this racial unit are the Paressí to the west. Conceivably the Iranxe, northern neighbors of the Paressí, could be placed in the same unit. West of the Paressí, inhabiting the more inhospitable areas of the Serro do Parecís, are the Nambicuara. With some justification

[p. 135 (A)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949)1953
SP17 Nambicuara
Brazillian Indians SL4

144 they may be considered an archaic remnant surviving in a refuge area. To the south, across the semiarid Planalto do Matogrosense, and living in the Paraguayan rather than the Amazonian drainage, are the Bororo. Racially their ties are to the south—the Chaco and the Pampas. As far as the data go, there is no reason to believe that this tall, rugged physical type extended north of the plateau barriers which bisect Mato Grosso into northern and southern portions.

[p. 135 (B)]

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[p. 136 (c)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

Aueto SP6

YATUMA SP25

Y
A
N
133

Y
[361
342]

A
[501]

PLATE 1.—General scenes in Northern Mato Grosso.—a, Utiarity Falls on the Papagaio River. b, Upper Xingú village of Cuicúru (air photograph by courtesy of Mr. Harry Wright). c, Jatobá bark canoe and Camayurá family on the Kuluene River. d, Large piquí tree in Jacaré Camp.

[p.136 (D)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Aueto SP6

342
252
352

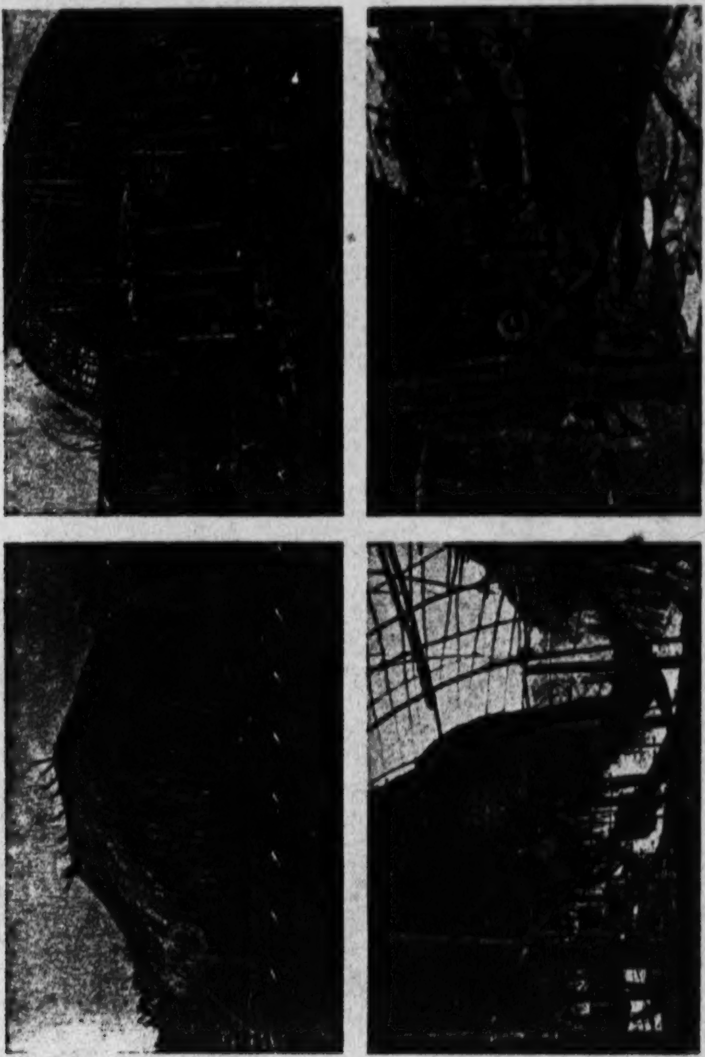
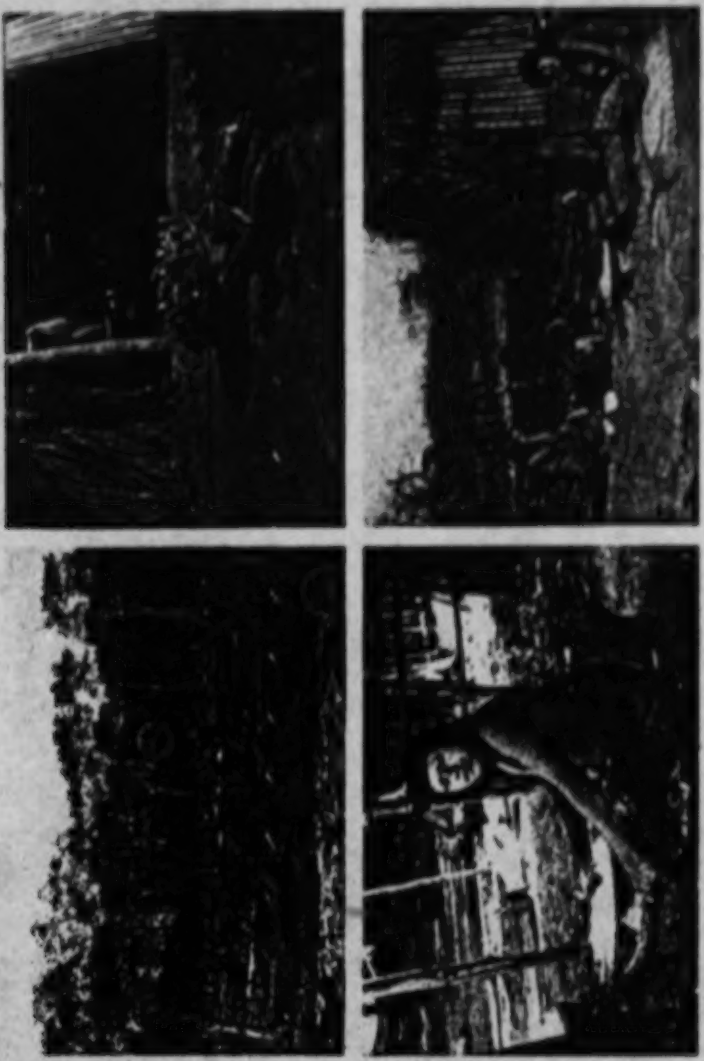


PLATE 2.—Houses and house construction.—a, Exterior view of completed house shown in c. b, Partially covered frame and large pole. c, Interior view of Camayurá house under construction. d, The arrangement of hammocks for sleeping in Camayurá house.

[p.136(E)]

Aueto SP6

241
142
291
342
252
516



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[p. 136 (F)]

Aueto SP6.

392
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[p. 136 (G)]

411
142
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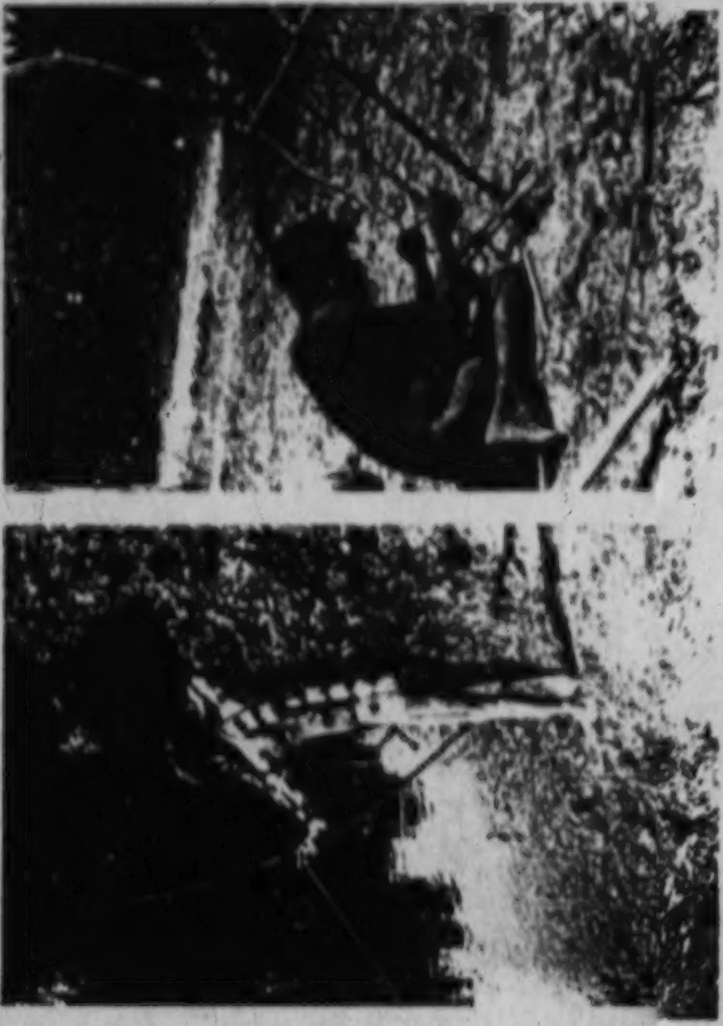
226
286
301



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[p. 136 (H)]

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316
415
412

861
201
322
271
192

[illegible]

[p. 136 (I)]

Aue to SP6

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304.
302
291
484

778
534
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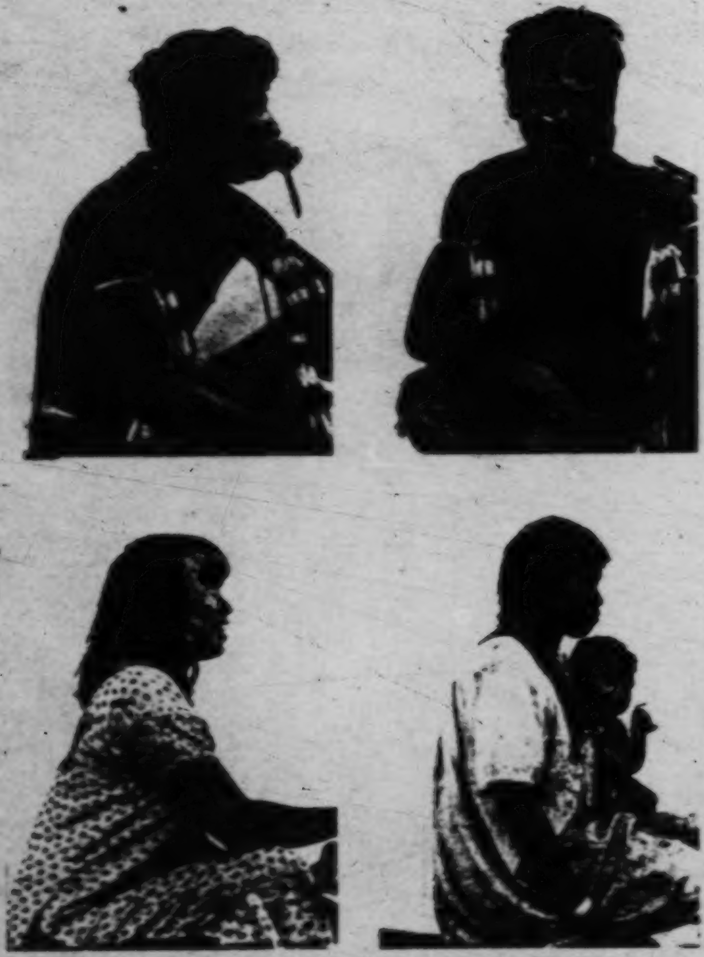
142

[illegible]

[p.136(J)]

142
291
301

[17]



[illegible]

[p.136(K)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo SP8

142

PLATE 9. Physical types of Umotina men.

[301]

[p.136 (L)]

4: Oberg E-5 (1949) 1953 SP17 Nambicuara

Bororo Sp8

142

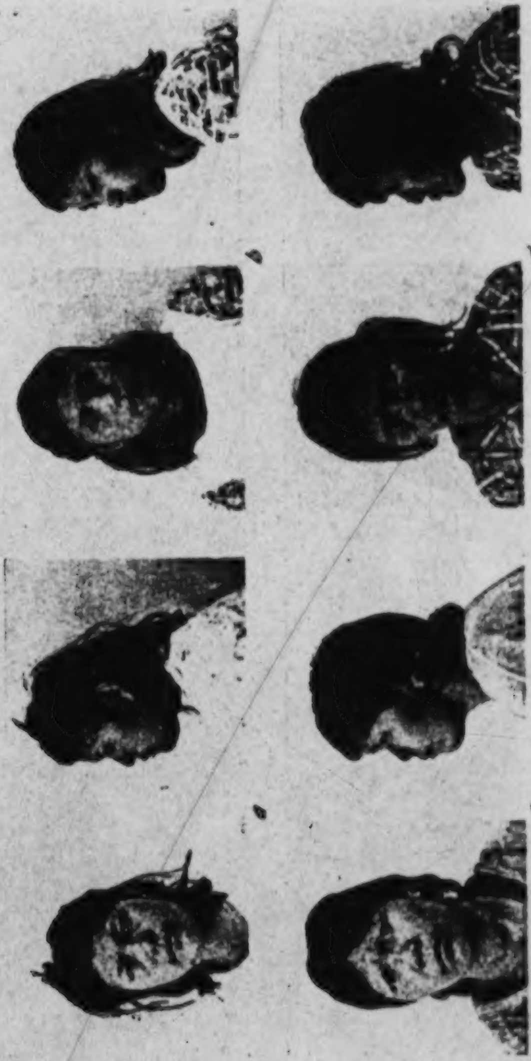


PLATE [illegible].—Physical types of Nambicuara women.

[p. 136 (M)]

[pp. 136 (N) + 136 (O) are blank]

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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[Title page]

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OS INDIOS NHAMBIQUÁRA DO BRASIL-CENTRAL.

Por E. Roquette-Pinto, Rio de Janeiro.

307 A MAIS interessante das collecções entradas, nestes ultimos tempos, na secção ethnographica do Museu Nacional, é composta de artefactos dos indios Nhambiquára. Esse material, de valor inestimavel, foi recebido da Commissão Rondon. Dos Nhambiquára são estes artefactos os primeiros que o mundo civilisado provavelmente recebe.

Pouco sabiamos até hoje sobre os indios chamados Nhambiquára. Em 1909, o official-explorador brazileiro, o Coronel Rondon, durante a sua viagem pelo interior do Matto-Grosso, conseguiu entrar em relações de amizade com duas fracções desses selvagens, que vivem no vale do Rio Juruena, extendendo-se desde ahi até aos rios Sararé e Galera, affluentes do Rio Guaporé. Rondon obteve tambem uma collecção de objectos ethnographicos; e conseguiu recolher uma serie de dados sobre a vida, usos e costumes, e ácêrca da distribuição geographica dos indios Parecí e dos seus parentes Nhambiquára, aos quaes, segundo parece, esse intelligente official dedicava especial attenção.

Chegamos a saber que os Kaxiniti, Uáimaré e os Kozárini são sub-tribus da grande e espalhada nação dos *Parecí*. Estes nomeam aos Nhambiquára *Uáikoákore* e Uaikoaré, dividindo-os assim em dous grupos. Os individuos d'este ultimo grupo são de tez mais escura; e são tambem mais bellicosos. Moram entre o Rio Juruena e o Camararé.

Rondon parece haver esclarecido tambem a significação do nome Kabixí, o qual era causa de constante confusão dos indígenas daquellas regiões, como succede com muita frequencia com esses nomes collectivos "Bugre," "Tapuya," "Guaycurú," "Aruak" e outros. Os moradores da Villa Bella (Matto-Grosso) costumavam chamar Kabixí aquelles indios que os Parecí denominam *Uáikoákore*, os quaes, como se-vê acima, são Nhambiquára.

Agora bem esse nome *Uáikoákore* dam os Parecí das fracções Kaxiniti e Uaimaré, dos Rios Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Timalatiá, aos seus parentes do grupo Kozárini, que, como indica Rondon, occupa as nascentes dos rios Verde, Juba, Cabaçal, e Jaurú. De modo que os Kabixí visinhos aquella cidade matto-grossense e os Nhambiquára do Coronel Rondon seriam, pois, identicos; ou seja, grupos d'um mesmo povo.

Os Parecí usam do termo Kabixí como apellido pejorativo, á custa do qual pretendem depreciar seus parentes julgados por elles de inferior condição.

Os Nhambiquára são geralmente de estatura mediana; tem o ventre um tanto proeminente, os seios musculosos as pernas finas e os pés bem feitos. Os seus dentes são grandes, e bem implantados. Costumam perfurar as narinas, o septo nasal

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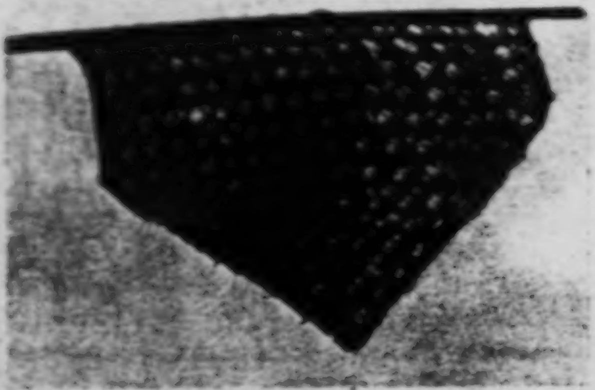
e os lobulos das orelhas. Atraves dos orificios feitos no nariz passam pequenos pedaços de madeira—*auitsú*; dos lobulos das orelhas fazem pender brincos feitos de pequenas contas de côco. Usam braceletes, pulseiras e perneiras tecidas com *tucúm*; e ao redor do pescoço, um collar de contas da Mbacába (*Oenocarpus bacaba, Mart.*). Vivem da caça; mas tambem plantam milho, cará (*Dioscorea*), batata (*convolvulus*), mandioca e feijão. Fumam uma folha mui semelhante ao tabaco brasileiro.

Os indios que iam ao posto dormiam sobre o chão. Este fato tem uma grande importancia, que será aumentada ainda mais, si os linguistas poderem aproximar seu idioma dos falados pelas tribus do grupo Gê. Certamente é preciso maior indagação para que se possa concluir alguma coisa; mas devemos ainda notar que não foram encontradas redes de dormir nas cabanas dos Nhambiquára, onde, em diferentes ocasiões, foi possivel examinar todo o mobiliario dessas habitações. E aí foram confirmadas as opiniões de R. Schuller sobre a natureza do grupo linguistico Gê, passarão os Nhambiquára a fazer parte da familia Aruak, onde já se encontram os seus vizinhos Parecis.



[285]
[372]
[824]

FIG. 1.—ABANO DE FOLHA DE BACÁBA.

[bacába leaf fire-fan]

Na coleção etnografica recebida pelo Museu, enviada pelo Coronel Rondon, acham-se como substancias alimentares amostras de milho, feijões e de uma conserva de mandioca muito semelhante ao "Kíuhá" dos Parecí. Existem tambem na coleção algumas amostras de breu indijena. É massa negra que amolece e funde a temperatura muito baixa, adquirindo intenso brilho, e desprendendo cheiro resinoso; parece que é uma mistura da resina do Oanani (*Syphonia globulifera*), e cêra. O principal emprego dessa massa é a fixação dos cordões que ligam a ponta á haste das flechas.

Os artefactos dos Nhambiquára têm um certo valor. Para a confecção dos abanos usam as folhas de bacába (*Fig.* 1), sendo os foliolos trançados em grupos de 4, dois [illegible] dois. As cestas de carga têm grande capacidade e são feitas de taquára. Os seus laços são fixados no fundo e nas paredes lateraes, passando pelas axilas e pelas espaduas da india portadora.

Os Nhambiquára fazem ceramica de uma pasta grosseira, negra e mal cozida, na qual se acha a argila misturada á grande porção de cinzas (Fig. 2).

Para derrubar as arvores do terreno destinado á cultura, usam do machado de pedra (diabase) fixado em um cabo de madeira, por meio de cordeis e breu (Fig. 3). O indio que consegue deitar abaixo certas arvores com este instrumento, recebe como premio uma bella penna de arara ou mutum (*Crax globulosa*), que se destina ao nariz. Esta especie de condecoração conferida por trabalho industrial é tanto mais notavel quanto, em geral, taes distincções, entre os selvagens do Brazil, são reservadas ao merito guerreiro.

[323]

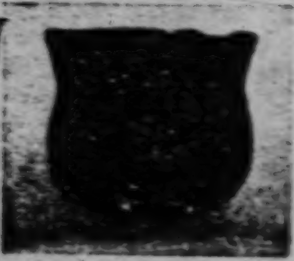


FIG. 2.—CERAMICA DOS NHAMBIQUÁRA.

[Nambicuara pottery]

Os arcos geralmente muito grandes, muito fortes, de madeira vermelha, são muito bem alisados. A sua secção transversal é semi-cilindrica. Seu comprimento varia, nos que existem na coleção, entre 1 m. 60, e 2 m. 38. Para obter uma flexa de 50 c. entre a corda e o arco de 2 m. 38, em experiencia feita, precisámos uma força de tracção correspondente á 60 k. verificados no dinamometro. A corda é de tucum (*Astrocaryum tucum*), e tem um diametro de 2 mm.

[313
412]

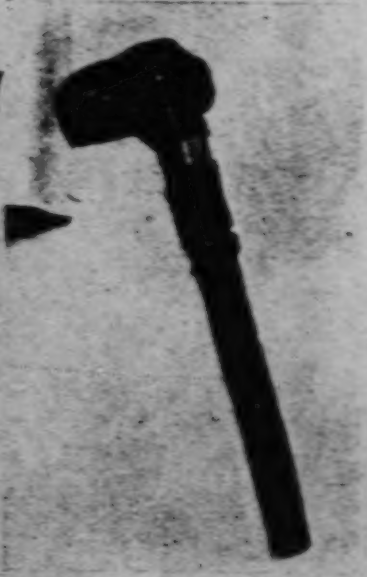


FIG. 3.—MACHADO DE PEDRA (DIABASE) PARA DERRUBAR ARVORES.

[stone axe for felling trees]

As flechas destes indios têm aspétos differentes e pódem ser caracterisadas pela fórma das pontas, segundo 5 tipos (Fig. 4).

O primeiro tipo tem a ponta de madeira vermelha, inteiramente lisa e cilindrica (Fig. 4, *c*); o segundo se caracteriza por um pequeno osso fixado á ponta, dando-lhe a fórma de harpão (Fig. 4, *b*); tem a ponta de taquára em fórma de punhal com cerca de 25 c. de comprimento, as flechas do terceiro tipo (Fig. 4, *ef*); as do quarto tipo distinguem-se mui facilmente por ter a ponta achatada, e provida, lateralmente, de 11 pares de farpas. As mais curiosas das flechas dos Nhambiquára são as do quinto tipo (Fig. 4, *ad*). Sua ponta tem farpas fixadas por meio de fios de tucum e lona. Parte notavel: é protegida por um estojo, ou bainha, que é um tubo de taquára. No Brasil são conhecidas lanças envenenadas protegidas de um modo semelhante; mas não conheço um só exemplo de flecha deste modo revestida. A haste das flechas tem um profundo entalhe na base e é adornada com pennas de mutum, cará-cará, ou araras, mantidas por fios de tucum e lona ainda.

[411]

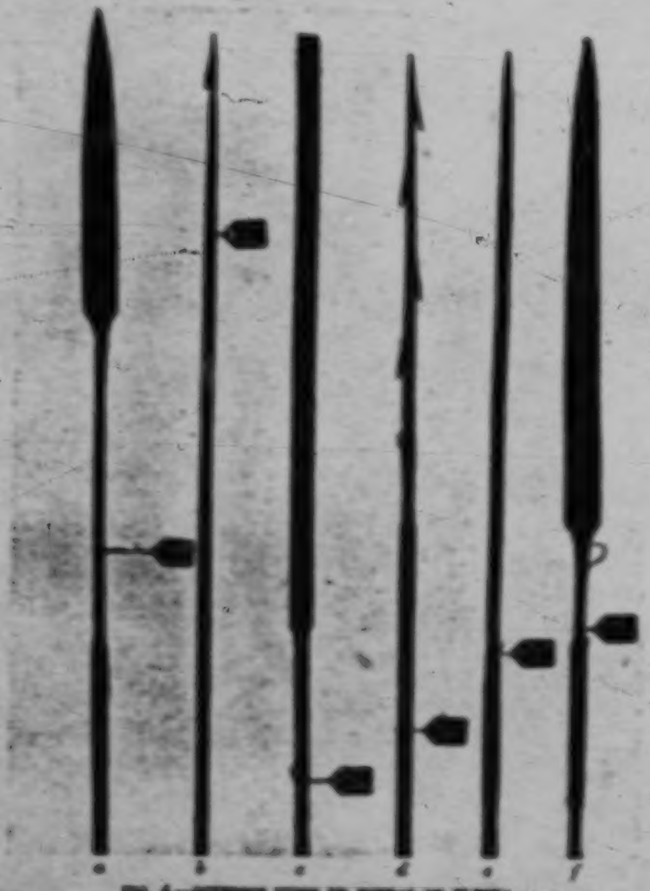


FIG. 5.—DIVERSOS TIPOS DE PONTAS DE FLECHA.

[several types of arrow points]

Dois unicos instrumentos de musica tem a collecção. O primeiro é uma dupla flauta feita de tubos de taquára, com cerca de 17 c. de comprimento por 1 c. de diametro, ligados parallelamente por meio de fios, collocados proximos ás extremidades. O outro é constituido por dois discos concavos, de cabaça, de cerca de 8 c. de diametro, reunidos pelas bordas, por uma tira de "maiá-maiá" e lona. No disco

2 c

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superior existem tres orificios. E' uma flauta mui semelhante ao "Zen-hari" dos Parecí, tocada pelo sopro do nariz.

1/2 Em Novembro 1910, no Juruena, não longe de um posto telegraphico, puderam
192 ser obtidas as seguintes palavras da lingua dos Nhambiquára:

Portuguez.	English.	Nhambiquára.	Portuguez.	English.	Nhambiquára.
Flecha	Arrow	Arahiraquiá.	Cabello	Hair	Anihitá.
Olho	Eye	Aiotá.	Dedo	Finger	Taitauá.
Braço	Arm	Tanokiná.	Arco	Bow	Araukitá.
Dente	Tooth	Ani.	Vem cá	Come here	Nhangan.

Esse pequeno vocabulario difere um pouco do que vai adiante transcrito, o qual foi obtido em um posto avançado da Expedição, estabelecido na Serra do Norte, em 20 de Julho de 1909:

Portuguez.	English.	Nhambiquára.	Portuguez.	English.	Nhambiquára.
Agua	Water	Ari.	Taquará	Bamboo	Uananá.
Abobora	Gourd	Abitom.	Urucú	—	Nakirá.
Arara	Arara	Aa-ouaná.	Assucar	Sugar	Nahá-ouná.
Abacaxi	—	Koiro.	Agulha	Needle	Tainá-ouná.
Amigo	Friend	Tirauiná.	Barro	Clay	Inuná.
Arroz	Rice	Ixi-hitauá.	Burro	Mule	Aauaná.
Algodão	Cotton	Kouquiná.	Bocca	Mouth	Toki-inyá.
Batata	—	Uiná.	Cão	Dog	Inhanoná.
Beijú	—	Uriauná.	Chapeo	Hat	Unani.
Cigarro	Cigarette	Tai.	Camisa	Shirt	Uaru.
Carne	Meat	Uaingná.	Panela	Stove	Seirá.
Cabaça	Pumpkin	Urauá.	Cerca	Enclosure	Kokuni.
Calças	Trousers	Tenauá.	Cigarra	Cicada	Kikiná.
Caminho	Road	Aukaí.	Cajú	—	Irikiná.
Coco	—	Katoni.	Cabello	Hair	Uainihauá.
Collar	Necklace	Airiukiná.	Dente	Tooth	Oná.
Chocalho	Rattle	Nae-aiuá.	Enxada	Hoe	Enauá.
Coragem	Strikes	Ue-nauá.	Faca	Knife	Nahotirá-ainauá.
Enfeite para a cabeça	Headdress	Notana.	Feijão	Beans	Kouliná.
Espingarda	Gun	Kaitinauá.	Tabaco	Tobacco	Ennuná.
Farinha	Flour	Orihauaná.	Cesto	Basket	Aiiná.
Foice	Sickle	Evauá.	Machado de pedra	Stone Axe	Eiá.
Gafanhoto	Grasshopper	Nahiná.	Mandioca	Mandioc	Inuná.
Machado	Axe	Uaniharú.	Mulher	Woman, wife	Alinihauá.
Milho	Maize	Godequiná.	Nariz	Nose	Ainaniá.
Melancia	Water melon	Niná.	Olhos	Eyes	Oaiouná.
Mão	Hand	Tauhiná.	Cavilha para o nariz	Nose ornament	Uniauá.
Orelha	Ear	Onaniná.	Bastão igni-jeno	Firewood	Aiiná.
Ovo	Egg	Nahihiriuaná.	Penna de ave	Bird's feathers	Aaouniná.
Cavilha do labio superior	Wood ornament for upper lip	Iná.	Seringueira	Rubber tree	Uriná.
Pilão	A mortar	Neai.	Tucum	—	Jananá.
Palha	Straw	Evaauiná.			

Nota: As palavras indigenas foram escriptas de accordo com a phonetica portugueza. H deve ser aspirado. S-Z-X-E, como em Portuguez. E sempre breve.

2/2 [Two slightly differing vocabularies, the first recorded in 1910, the second in 1909. Phonetics as in Portuguese. H should be aspirated, E always soft. — Am 1913]

Abstract.

Little has hitherto been known of the Nhambiquára who inhabit the valley 131
of the Juruena and are spread thence to the rivers Sararé and Gabiro, affluents of 114
the Guaporé. In 1909, an official Brazilian explorer, Colonel Rondon, during his journey in the interior of Matto Grosso, was able to enter into friendly relations with them, collecting ethnological objects, and gathering information of their life, geographical distribution and customs, with those also of the Pareci.

The Pareci give the names Uáikoákoré and Ouihanioré to the Nhambiquára, 101
thus dividing them into two groups. Individuals of the latter group have darker skins [184]
and are more warlike. Colonel Rondon appears to have cleared up the meaning of the name Kabixí, which has been a cause of confusion, as often happens with collective names like Bugre, Tapuya, Guaycurú and others. The dwellers in Villa Bella (Matto Grosso) were accustomed to call Kabixí those Indians whom the Pareci called Uáikoákoré, and who, as now stated, are Nhambiquára. This name of Uáikoákoré is given by the Pareci of the sub-tribes Kaxiniti and Uaimaré of the rivers Arinos, Sacuriú-iná, Tahuruiná and Timalatiá to their kindred of the Kozárini group who inhabit the upper parts of the *Rio* Verde, the Juba, Cabaçal and Jaurú. The term Kabixí is derogatory, implying an inferior condition.

The Nhambiquára are usually of medium height; they have large teeth, the 142
abdomen rather prominent, muscular thighs, slender legs and well made feet. They 301
perforate the nostrils, the nasal septum and the ear-lobes. Through the holes made [304]
in the nose they pass small pieces of wood, and from the ear lobes they hang ornaments made of small beads of coconut. They wear armlets, bracelets, leg ornaments and bead collars made from the fruit of the [illegible]. They live by 241
the chase, but also plant maize, yams, potatoes, mandioc, and beans. They smoke 276
leaves similar to Brazilian tobacco and do not use hammocks but sleep on the 513
ground, like the Campa-atsiri and the Amueshas of the Gran Pajonal.

In the collection made by Colonel Rondon for the National Museum at Rio de 252
Janeiro there is an alimentary paste similar to the Kládá of the Pareci, made from pounded mandioc. The native *brea* or bitumen is used with string to fasten arrow 351
points to their shafts. It appears to be a mixture of Oanini and wax, and is [311]
preserved in leaves of the Maká-maká palm. It melts at a very low temperature.

To fell trees a stone axe, fixed in a wooden handle by means of cord and 412
bitumen, is used. The Indian who succeeds in felling certain trees with this primitive instrument receives as reward an arara or mutúm feather for a nose- [301
ornament. Such a decoration is usually reserved for warlike prowess among the 554]
natives of Brazil. The bows are large, strong, of red wood and well-polished, with semi-cylindrical transversal section. Those in the Rondon collection vary from 411
1m. 80 to 2m. 20 in length. To draw an arrow of 56cm. between the larger bow and its string of tucum a traction force of 60 kilos. is necessary, as verified by the [147]
dynamometer. There are five types of arrows. They have two musical instruments, one, a double flute made of two pieces of bamboo tied together, the other, 534
two concave disks of calabash, about 5 cm. in diameter, united at the edges by a strip of Maká-maká and brea. The upper disk has three orifices.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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[title page]

THE SOCIAL USE OF KINSHIP TERMS AMONG BRAZILIAN INDIANS

By CLAUDE LEVI STRAUSS

181 607 THE kinship system of the Nambikuara Indians of the Western Matto Grosso is one of the most simple in Brazil. At the same time it is typical of a sociological pattern, cross cousin marriage, which according to our present information seems to have been very common throughout South America. The object of this article is to compare the familial organization of the Nambikuara with that of other tribes described in the older literature and to show that a certain kinship tie, the brother-in-law relationship, once possessed a meaning among many South American tribes far transcending a simple expression of relationship. This significance, still observable in Nambikuara culture, is both sexual and politico-social; and, owing to its complexity, the brother-in-law relationship may perhaps be regarded as an actual institution. Since the sixteenth century travellers and sociologists have failed to devote sufficient attention to the phenomenon, probably because it could readily be interpreted as a development of the imported Iberian *compadre* relationship. In our opinion, on the contrary, the brother-in-law relationship, together with its remarkable implications, constitutes an indigenous aboriginal institution based on the pattern of native culture. Nevertheless, it presents a striking example of convergence in which the native and Latin-Mediterranean institutions show numerous apparent similarities overlying important structural differences.

131 133 The Nambikuara Indians are settled on the upper courses of the feeders of the Tapajoz River, between the eleventh and the fifteenth parallels. Their territory consists of a semi-desert savanna, which contrasts with the narrow gallery forests along the main waterways. The fertile soil of these forests allows [511] the natives to cultivate a few gardens in the rainy season, but during most of the year the Nambikuara subsist mainly by hunting and gathering wild food. 117 Compared to the majority of Brazilian tribes, their cultural level is low. As they were discovered only in 1907 and as they had practically no contact with white civilization between the year of the Rondon-Roosevelt Expedition in 1914 and the time of our own field work in 1938–39, their familial and social organization may be considered still intact.

601 The Nambikuara kinship system may be summarized as follows: All the father's brothers are classified together with the father and are called "father," and all the mother's sisters are classified with the mother and are called "mother." The father's sisters and the mother's brothers are classified together with the spouse's parents and the parents' parents in a single category which denotes simultaneously the cross aunts and cross uncles, the mother-in-law and father-in-law, and the grandparents. Passing to Ego's generation, the parallel cousins, both the children of the father's brothers and of the mother's sisters, are merged with siblings and are called "brother" and "sister." Turn-

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ing to the children of the father's sisters and of the mother's brothers, a man calls all his female cross cousins (to one of whom he is or will be married) "wife," and all his male cross cousins "brother-in-law;" conversely, a woman calls all her male cross cousins (among whom her actual or potential husband is numbered) "husband," and all her female cross cousins "sister-in-law." No terminological difference is made between actual and potential spouses. The members of the next younger generation are similarly divided into "sons" and "daughters" (Ego's own children and parallel nephews and nieces) and "sons-in-law" and "daughters-in-law" (Ego's cross nephews and nieces), since these are or may be the spouses of his children. 601

The system is somewhat complicated by secondary distinctions made between elder and younger siblings and by the fact that another kind of marriage—between a maternal uncle and his niece—is also practised. This new pattern usually appears in the polygynous unions which, in the prevailingly monogamous Nambikuara society, are the privilege of the chief. This point needs some elaboration. Nambikuara polygyny results from the fact that, subsequent to a first marriage having all the characteristics of the common (i.e., the cross cousin) form, a man may contract one or more unions of somewhat different nature. Actually, the position of his new wives is not the same as that of his original one, and, although constituting real marriages, the later unions are nevertheless psychologically and economically different from the first. The atmosphere in which they evolve is less conjugal and more like a kind of amorous friendship. The younger wives cooperate more extensively in the numerous tasks imposed on their husband because of his special social obligations. Furthermore, the activities of these women do not conform as closely as those of the first wife to the general pattern of the sexual division of labor. Finally, they are younger and are classified, in relation to the earlier wife, as "daughters" or "nieces." Such "oblique" unions (that is, between members of different generations) may also take place in monogamous marriages, but less frequently. Although their occurrence among the Nambikuara is an important point in our demonstration, the consequent modifications of the kinship system are not essential for the purposes of this article and we may therefore omit further mention of them. Our present observations will be limited to the special implications of the brother-in-law relationship which is expressed through the reciprocal terms *asúkosu* (Eastern dialect), *tarútu* (Central and Western dialect) or *iópa* (Northern dialect). 601 595 607

It must be emphasized immediately that this useful translation of the native term is not in any way accurate. While the *asúkosu* is a man's male cross cousin and also his potential brother-in-law, since the persons calling each other *asúkosu* (or *tarútu* or *iópa*) call each other's sisters "wife," it is only in particular instances that one or more of the individuals involved is, in fact, the wife's brother or the sister's husband or both. The meaning of the term *asúkosu*

607 is consequently much wider than "brother-in-law" as we understand it, including as it does approximately half the masculine members of a man's generation; the rest, of course, receive the name "brother" (consanguineous or [601] classificatory). It should be noted that in the Nambikuara kinship system men alone have brothers-in-law and, conversely, women alone have sisters-in-law.

642 Only in the case of brothers-in-law are the Nambikuara conscious of a link between a special type of behavior and the position occupied by a kins-617 man in the relationship system. Generally speaking, there are no rules of avoidance or of privileged familiarity between particular kinds of relatives. The relations with the spouse's parents do not differ substantially from those with the parallel uncle and aunt and, although it is true that relations between consanguineous or classificatory siblings are rather reserved, the natives are unable to define this diffuse behavior. As a matter of fact, while siblings and parallel cousins do not avoid each other, they do not joke or even talk together unless there is a special reason for doing so. Sisters-in-law, on the contrary, comport themselves very freely. They laugh and joke together and render each other small services, such as rubbing each other's back with urucu paste. And, more especially, exceptional relations are revealed when one passes to the brothers-in-law.

607 838 We have already mentioned the partial polygyny which exists in the group. The chief or shaman periodically withdraws several of the youngest and prettiest women from the regular cycle of marriages; consequently, young men often find it difficult to marry, at least during adolescence, since no potential spouse is available. The resulting problem is solved in Nambikuara society by homosexual relations, which receive the rather poetical name *tamindige kihandige*—"sham love." Relations of this kind are frequent among young men and are more publicly displayed than heterosexual ones. Unlike most adults, the partners do not seek the isolation of the bush, but settle close to the camp fire in front of their amused neighbors. Although the source of occasional jokes, such relations are considered childish and no one pays much attention to them. We did not discover whether the partners aim at achieving complete sexual gratification or whether they limit themselves to such sentimental effusions and erotic behavior as most frequently characterize the relations between spouses. In any event, the point is that homosexual relations occur only between *male cross cousins*.

We never learned whether or not the same relations continue to exist between adult cross cousins; it does not seem likely. Nevertheless, the freedom and demonstrativeness displayed by brothers-in-law toward one another are not characteristic of the relations between brothers or between the members of any other class of relatives. One often sees among the Nambikuara (who, in fact, like to indulge in expressions of affection) two or three men, married and

sometimes the fathers of several children, walking together at dusk and tenderly 607
embracing each other; always 838

tarúię iaidriqię

(these are) brothers-in-law embracing (each other).

Certain games, too, such as the "scratch game" (in which the opponents try to scratch each other especially in the face), are commonly played by brothers-in-law.

But the close relationship between "cross cousins actually or potentially 607
allied through a sister's marriage"—the more accurate translation of the
aboriginal term for brother-in-law—may extend far beyond the family tie. 571
Actually, it is sometimes used to establish between individuals not belonging to the same kin group new links of a special nature, the function of which is to amalgamate into a single familial unit several formerly unrelated groups. This is brought out clearly in the following case.

During the past twenty years, several epidemics nearly destroyed the cen- 184
tral, northern and western divisions of the Nambikuara. Several groups were 571
decimated to such an extent that they could no longer successfully maintain a
socially autonomous existence. In the hope of reconstituting functioning units, 621
some of these, therefore, attempted to join forces. In the course of our field- 197
work we met and worked with such a merged group made up of seventeen
individuals using the northern dialect (*Sabâne* group) and thirty-four using 731
the central dialect (*Tarundé* group). Each of the originally distinct groups, however, lived under the guidance of its own chief, although both leaders closely cooperated. It is probable that the demographic crisis did not by itself account for this situation, since the people of the second group formed merely a fraction of a more numerous unit from which it had split off for reasons unknown to us. However, from several events which occurred during our stay with them, we deduced that the break had been caused by political dissention, the details of which remained obscure to us. In any event, these groups now travelled and lived together although two separate but contiguous camps were maintained in which the families formed distinct circles, each around its own fire. The most amazing feature of this curious organization was that the two groups did not speak the same language and were able to understand one another only through interpreters; fortunately, one or two individuals belonging to each group had sufficient knowledge of the other dialect to act as intermediaries. Even the two chiefs could not communicate directly. The problem of whether these dialects belong to the same linguistic stock need not be raised here; but the Northern group undoubtedly must be classified with the Nambikuara cultural family because of the similarities of material culture and of the life pattern, and chiefly because of the psychological attitude of the people, who very evidently believed in their close affinity to the Central group.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943

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A more fundamental problem raised by the union of the two groups, namely the nature of the relations to be established between their respective members, was solved by the common statement that all the male members of the Sabánę group were to be acknowledged as the "brothers-in-law" (*tarútų*) of the male adults of the Tarúndę group, and, conversely, that the latter were to be acknowledged as "brothers-in-law" (*iópą*) by the former. Consequently, all the "wives" belonging to one group became the "sisters" of the "husbands" of the other, and the "sisters-in-law" of the latters' wives; and all children of both sexes in one group became the potential spouses of the children in the other. As a result, these two groups will be welded into a single consanguineous unit within two generations.

The conscious and systematic nature of this solution cannot be doubted. When asked for their kinship relation to any male adult of the allied group, the male informants, irrespective of the group to which they themselves belonged, never gave a different answer, but always emphasized that the question was meaningless since all the Sabánę men were their *tarútų*, or all Tarúndę men their *iópą*. On the other hand, no one seemed to have a clear idea of the exact relationship between the women, the children, or the adults and the children of the two groups. Occasionally the correct theoretical relationship could be deduced; more frequently only the group name was given in reply to our queries: She is calling the other one "Sabánę"—or "Tarúndę." Thus it may be assumed that the system was conceived of and applied according to (and exclusively according to) the *tarútų* (or *iópą*) relationship. This inference is rather important because, of course, the same result could have been achieved by other means.

If the sole aim of the system had been to ensure inter-marriage, it could have been brought about equally well in two other ways; perhaps we should say that two different interpretations might have been made of the same phenomenon. In the first place, the women might have been regarded as "sisters-in-law"; or, in the second place, all the men of one group and all the women of the other might have entered a brother-sister relationship. In both cases the result would have been the same as in the accepted interpretation, in which, indeed, these relationships are implied though not expressed. Nevertheless, the solution itself was actually based on the relationship between the male and his allied collaterals, the consequences of which must now be examined.

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Two of the three possible interpretations implied the consideration of women; only one was purely masculine, and it is the latter which was adopted by the natives. The reason for the choice is obvious since the problem to be solved was a purely political one, concerning the chieftainship, which is exercised by men, rather than the normal mechanism of filiation, the pattern of which seems to be matrilineal. In a simple system of cross cousin marriage, such as that of the Nambikuara, the brother-in-law may be either the matri-

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943

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lateral or the patrilateral cross cousin; nevertheless, the chosen interpretation 571
stresses the male side in Nambikuara society, or, let us say, it shows a strong 607
tendency in this direction. At the same time we can see in such a solution a
specifically social structure beginning to superimpose itself on the formerly 582
simple familial units.

We do not intend in any way to base a theory of the origin of dual organ- 571
izations on these restricted observations, the character of which is mainly
anecdotal. However, this is a case where "the characteristic features of the 607
sib organization are in some measure prefigured among sibless tribes";[5] as a
matter of fact, in order to fulfill the main requirements of a system of exogamic
moieties, it would be sufficient for the new unit, once fixed, to retain the recollection of its dual origin by preserving the habit of not mingling the camp
fires.

Moreover, the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship provides an 571
instance of the increasingly superior position of the men within the group, 607
since it is through the men that group alliances are brought about, just as 562
wars are waged by men.

The preceding observations have a further value, since with their help we 000
may be able to interpret sociological information found in the older literature
on South America, especially that dealing with the Tupi of the Brazilian coast.

There are striking similarities between several features of the Nambikuara 114
kinship system and what may be inferred about the ancient familial organ-
ization of the coastal Tupi. When describing small details of Nambikuara daily 171
life, one is often tempted to quote Jean de Léry or Yves d'Evreux, so accurately 601
do their words apply to certain live features of Nambikuara society, notwithstanding the fact that they were written four centuries before this culture became known. As a matter of fact, several metaphysical themes are common to both cultures and, indeed, certain names in the Nambikuara religious vocabulary have a conspicuously Tupi origin. The most important similarities, however, are those involving the kinship systems. In both cultures the same three principles of familial organization are stressed and are apparently similarly expressed: First the dichotomy of the parents' brothers and sisters between parallel uncles and aunts, called "fathers" and "mothers," and cross uncles and aunts, called "fathers-in-law" and "mothers-in-law;" secondly, the marriage of cross cousins with the correlative assimilation of parallel cousins to "brothers" and "sisters"; and, finally, the avuncular marriage, which, among the ancient Tupi, seems to have taken the form of a preferential union between the mother's brother and the sister's daughter.

An excellent text by Anchieta gives evidence of the occurrence of the first 114
principle, as well as showing signs of the existence of the other two: 171

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[5] Robert H. Lowie, *Family and Sib* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21), p. 28.

114 171 In questions of relationship they never use the word *ete* (true) since they call their father's brothers "father," their brothers' sons "son," and their father's brothers' sons "brother"; when they wish to designate their actual father or son, they say *xeruba xeremonhangara* "my father who engendered me," or, for a son, *xeraira xeremimonhanga* "my son whom I engendered." I never heard an Indian call his wife *xeremirecô ete*, but simply *xeremirecô* or *xeracig* "mother of my children," and I never heard a woman refer to her husband as *xemenete* "real husband," but simply *xemenû* or *xemembira rubo* "father of my children." They use these terms indifferently for their husband or lover. If the husband calls one of his wives *xeremirecô ete*, he means the most esteemed or best loved wife and she is often the last one he took.[7]

This text also shows that the Tupi encountered a difficulty in their kinship system, namely, how to distinguish the classificatory parents or children from the consanguineous ones. This stresses the structural similarity between their kinship system and that of the Nambikuara, since the latter met with the same problem. Apparently the Tupi, like the Nambikuara, felt no need for special terms, but when it was necessary, made comments based on physiological considerations. When the Nambikuara are asked to point out the real status 857 of their consanguineous children, they add to the name for "son" or "daugh- 842 ter" another word, the meaning of which is "child" or "little one." The physiological implication of this new term is perfectly clear, since is is ordinarily used to designate newly born animals, while the former terms are applied only to relationships within the human family. Complementary indications regarding the assimilation of the father's brother to a classificatory father may be found in Soares de Sousa.[8]

114 171 The old authors give numerous examples of cross cousin marriage and of marriages between uncles and nieces. Here again Anchieta will be our main source:

> Though many Indians have several nieces, and very attractive indeed, nevertheless they do not use them as wives. However, brothers have such authority over sisters that they consider their nieces as belonging to them and that they are entitled to marry them and to use them ad libitum if they wish. In the same way they give their sisters to some and refuse them to others. Taragaaj, an important chief of the village of Jaribiatiba in the plain of San Vicente, had two wives one of whom was his niece, his sister's daughter.[9]

Both types of marriage are treated as symmetrical institutions in the same document: " . . . because the fathers give them the daughters and the brothers the sisters. . . ."[10] Furthermore, cross cousin marriage is referred to by Staden:

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[7] *Informação dos Casamentos dos Indios do Brasil* (Revista Trimensal del Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 8, 1846, [2da Serie], p. 259.

[8] *Roteiro do Brasil* (Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, T. 14, 1851), pp. 316-317.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, p. 259. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

6: Levi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1943
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"They make presents also of their daughters and sisters . . . ",[6] by Soares de Sousa,[7] Claude d'Abbeville,[8] and others. With a sound sociological feeling, Anchieta establishes a link between the custom of a man marrying his sister's daughter and the recognition of the male as the only one responsible for conception, a theory also shared by the Nambikuara. On this matter, Anchieta writes: 171 114 [342]

> They call the brothers' daughters "daughter" and treat them as such. Therefore they would not have sexual intercourse with them, since they believe that the true kinship link has its origin in the father, whom they consider the only agent, while the mother, according to them, is merely a container in which the children are formed. . . . For that reason too, they use the sisters' daughters "ad copulam" without sin. . . . For the same reason, the father will give his daughters in marriage to their uncles, their mother's brothers, a thing which, until now, was never done with the nephew who is the brother's son. . . ."[9]

Cross cousin marriage seems to have a very wide distribution throughout South America.[10] But among the Tupi avuncular marriage in particular aroused the interest of early travellers. For instance, Léry notices: "As to the uncle, he marries his niece";[11] and Thevet: "As soon as they are born, the maternal uncle lifts them from the ground and keeps them for his future wives."[12] Magalhaes de Gandavo expresses himself as follows:

> It is their custom to marry the women who are their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or sisters; these are considered their legitimate and true wives. Fathers of the women cannot refuse them, nor can any persons other than their uncles marry them.[13]

But this statement seems to be doubly inaccurate. For other references to the same phenomenon one may turn to Nobrega,[14] Vasconcellos,[15] and Soares de Sousa.[16]

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[6] Hans Staden, *The true History of his Captivity* (Ed. Malcolm Letts, London, Vol. II, Ch. 18), p. 148.

[7] *Tratado Descriptivo do Brasil em 1587*, nova edição (São Paulo, 1938. Cap. CLVII).

[8] *Histoire de la Mission* . . . (Paris, 1614).

[9] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 229-230. The same interpretation is made by Manoel da Nobrega, *Cartas do Brasil 1549-1560, Cartas Jesuiticas I* (Publ. da Academia Brasileira, Rio de Janeiro, 1931).

[10] For instance, Breton gives clear evidence of its occurrence among the Antillean Caribs: "First cousins whom we call father's brother's sons call each other 'brothers' and the father's brothers are also called 'fathers.' The children of brothers do not marry, but they may contract marriages with the children of their father's sisters." *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 11.

[11] *Voyage faict en la Terre du Bresil*, ed. Gaffarel (Paris, 1880. Vol. 2, ch. 17), p. 83.

[12] *Cosmographie Universelle*, p. 932.

[13] Pedro de Magalhaes de Gandavo, *The Histories of Brazil* (The Cortes Society, New York, 1922. II, ch. 10), p. 89.

[14] *Cartas do Brasil. Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

[15] *Chronica da Companhia de Jesus do Estado do Brasil* (Lisboa, 1865. I, 82), p. 113.

[16] *Tratado*, pp. 157, 152.

595 171 Regarding polygyny and the sharp differentiation made among the Nambikuara between the first wife who devotes herself to feminine activities and the younger wives who are their husband's companions and share his tasks, it may be recalled that Magalhaes de Gandavo[17] refers to a special category of women, single indeed, who shared in masculine activities.[18]

171 114 The preceding similarities may perhaps allow us to establish a valid comparison between our observations concerning the extension of the "brother-in-law" relationship among the Nambikuara and what seems to have been a very similar institution among the ancient Tupi. We first quote Yves d'Evreux:

> They scattered part of the French through the villages so that they might live according to the custom of the land, which consists in having *chetouasap*, that is to say, hosts or god-sibs (*compères*), giving them merchandise instead of money. Such hospitality or god-sib relationship is very close among them, for they regard you as their child as long as you stay with them. They hunt and fish for you and, what is more, they used to give their daughters to their god-sibs (*compères*).[19]

The same author refers later to the "French who were established in the villages in a god-sib relationship (*compèrage*)."[20] Evidence of the aboriginal institution may also be found in Jean de Léry:

> It is worth remarking that the words *atour-assap* and *coton-assap* differ, because the first signifies a perfect alliance between them and between them and us, so much so that the belongings of the one are common to the other. And also that they cannot have the daughter or sister of the first named.[21]

From this one may infer, conversely, that marriage is authorised with the sister and the daughter of the *coton-assap*. Therefore, the *coton-assap* is granted a double privilege: first, marriage with his partner's sister, which makes him a "brother-in-law"; and, secondly, marriage with his partner's daughter, which is equivalent to his assimilation to the rank of "maternal uncle";—then, because he is considered a theoretical brother of his partner's wife, he also becomes a theoretical brother-in-law. Actually, therefore, both privileges have the same result.

171 607 582 One more similarity between the Tupi and Nambikuara brother-in-law relationship remains to be pointed out. All the texts quoted agree that there existed among the Tupi a kind of authority held by young men over their

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[17] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 10, p. 89.

[18] Other indications on the familial organization of the ancient Tupi may be found in: Métraux, *La Religion des Tupinamba* (Paris, Leroux, 1928), passim; Lafone Quevedo, *Guarani Kinship Terms as an Index of Social Organization* (American Anthropologist, Vol. 21, 1919, pp. 421–440); Kirchhoff, *Die Verwandtschaftsorganisation der Urwaldstämme Südamerikas* (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 63, 1931, ch. 13), p. 182.

[19] *Voyage dans le Nord du Brésil*, ed. F. Denis (Leipzig et Paris, 1864, III), p. 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, XXVIII, p. 220.

[21] *Loc. cit.*, II, ch. 20, p. 133. Cf. also Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), pp. 169–170.

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sisters. Cross cousin marriages seem to have resulted chiefly from a reciprocal 171
exchange of their respective sisters by the male cross cousins. (The same holds 607
for the giving of a daughter by a father.) The potential or actual brothers-in- 582
law then enter into a relationship of a special nature based upon reciprocal sexual services. We know that the same thing may be said of the Nambikuara brothers-in-law, with the difference that, among the Tupi, the sisters or daughters of the brothers-in-law provided the object of these services, whereas among the Nambikuara the prestations are directly exchanged in the form of homosexual relations.

We may now summarize our observations. The ancient Tupi acknowledged 171
two forms of marriage; namely, cross cousin marriage and avuncular marriage. The first was usually practised in the form of an exchange of sisters by two male cousins; the second appears to have been a right to the sister's daughter exercised by the mother's brother or granted to him by his sister's husband. In both cases the marriage is the result of an agreement between cross cousins, actually or potentially brothers-in-law—which is the definition we retained as a suitable translation of the Nambikuara terms *tarútu* and *iópa*. Now, this special "brother-in-law" relationship could be established, under the name of *chetouasap* (Evreux) or *atour-assap* (Léry), between individuals not united previously by any kinship tie, or else only more remotely related, or even between strangers (as was the case of the French and the Indians). The reason for such a step was to ensure intermarriage and by this means to amalgamate familial or social groups, previously heterogeneous, into a new homogeneous unit. One recognizes here the same process described in the analysis of the relations between the newly joined groups, Sabâne and Tarundé.[28]

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[28] The widespread South American custom of using kinship terms to express social relationships is attested to by Von den Steinen (*Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, 2 Aufl. Berlin, 1897, p. 286), who was called "older brother" by the Bakairi and "maternal uncle" by the Mehinaku. We have just established the equivalence of the terms "maternal uncle" and "brother-in-law" in a system of cross cousin marriage combined with avuncular marriage. Regarding the use of the term "older brother," two observations should be made. First, in a kinship system such as that of the Bororo, not far distant from the Xingu, each generation is to some extent split into two layers, the older half being assimilated to the younger half of the generation above and the younger half to the older half of the generation below. In such a system an "older brother" may well be a true uncle and a potential brother-in-law.

The use of the term "brother" for social purposes may also be understood in another way. Among the Nambikuara, there is a special term, sometimes used to designate a sibling of the same sex, the meaning of which is "the other one." This term is applied not only to describe a familial relationship, but is also used to name objects belonging to a class which includes several units (for instance, the posts of the huts or the pipes of the whistles). Friendly groups may also consider themselves to be "brothers" and the exclamation, "You are no more my brother!" may often be heard in discussions between angry adversaries.

This suggests that the term "brother" possesses, in addition to its kinship significance, a very wide meaning, both logical and moral. Nevertheless, when the technical problem of establishing new social relationships is put up to the Indians, it is not the vague "brotherhood" which is called upon, but the more complex mechanism of the "brother-in-law" relationship.

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171 The objection may be raised that the old authors have interpreted inaccurate observations in the light of European data. Since we shall suggest the use of the word *compèrage*—borrowed from the French—to identify the institution, which we consider to be an authentic aboriginal one, it will be useful to discuss briefly this aspect of the problem.

Without any doubt there is a striking analogy between the facts related above and the Latin-European institution of compèrage. Originally the *compère* and the *commère* were connected with each other, and both with the child's parents, through the mystical link of parrainage. However, the relation was very soon secularized in all small rural communities, or rather, wherever the familial structures were of greater importance than the social ones; it was then used to establish an artificial link of kinship, or, more precisely, as in the case among the Nambikuara, to express in kinship terms a purely external relationship of spatial promiscuity.[19] The stranger or newcomer was adopted by means of the reciprocal appellation of *compère* or *commère* which he received from—and returned to—his male adult contemporaries. On the other hand, since the stranger usually assimilated himself to the group by marrying within his new community, the terms *compère* and "brother-in-law" soon became synonymous, so that men allied by marriage usually called each other only by the first term. In all small communities of Mediterranean Europe and of Latin America, the *compère* or *compadre* is an actual or a potential brother-in-law. No doubt in certain regions of Central and South America the analogy between the European and aboriginal institution has helped the latter to become fixed and modernized. Thus, in Mexico the primitive institution of the [illegible], that is, of the heads of families bound to exchange gifts at certain periods, now expresses itself by means of the "compadre" relationship, the Spanish term providing an easy translation of the earlier Otomi.[20] The formal analogy between the institutions cannot hide, however, the fact that they are really opposite in character. In Latin-Mediterranean society, the formerly mystical and, actually, social link of compèrage may be changed, through marriage, into a real kinship tie. Among the ancient Tupi, as among the Nambikuara, the actual kinship provides the type of link used to establish wider relations.

ok 171 174 This being admitted, there are two strong reasons why our authorities cannot have constructed a pseudo-institution based on a European pattern from inconsistent observations. In the first place, men as well acquainted with religious problems as were Yves d'Evreux, Cardim and Léry could not have assimilated a relationship whose first consequence and probable aim was to per-

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[19] The same sociological derivation is expressed in English through the etymological origin of the word "gossip" (god-sib).

[20] Jacques Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1937).

mit new forms of marriage to the relationship between godfathers and parents, 184
the main purpose of which, especially since the thirteenth century, had been to
impose new and very rigid restrictions upon marriage. At the time they were 171
writing, the matter was of immediate interest and was being discussed by the 174
Council of Trent, where the earlier rules were somewhat mitigated. But there is a much stronger argument: From the moment of the arrival of the European missionaries both institutions, the European and the aboriginal, actually coexisted among the Indians, at least among those who were baptized, and neither they nor their European priests ever interpreted the Christian "god-father" relationship in terms of the native "brother-in-law" institution. On the contrary, and much more logically, since the new relationship placed restrictions on marriage, they considered it as a modality of the relation of paternity; thus, they assimilated the "god-father" to a classificatory "father."

> They [the newly baptized children] regarded their god-fathers as their true fathers and called them *Cherou*, that is to say, "my father," and the French called them *Cheraire*, that is to say, "my son," and the little girls *Cherajire*, "my daughter." . . .[illegible]

Therefore, it cannot be doubted that the *compèrage* is quite distinct from its European parallel.

A sufficient number of convergent indications have been recorded so that 171
we may consider the outstanding character of the "brother-in-law" relationship a specific feature of South American sociology, constituting the core of an original institution of *compèrage* which appears clearly among the Nambikuara and which, as suggested by the documents presented in this article, may formerly have had a much wider distribution on the continent.

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NEW YORK, NEW YORK

[illegible] Yves d'Evreux, loc. cit., II, I, p. 226.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

[illegible] . . . . [illegible]

7: Roquette-Pinto E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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[Title Page]

EDITOR'S NOTE

p4 The spelling of Portuguese words and of those Indian terms which have become part of the Brazilian language has been changed in accordance with the 1943 orthography reform. All other aborignal terms have been left untouched, including the entire word lists, owing to uncertain phonetic rendition.

It may only be stated with a certain measure of certainty that (´) marks stress, (^) indicates closed vowel quality, and (ua) stands for English wa. For other cues, see author's notes on pp. (. .48.-49).

Tribal and geographical names have been rendered in the current U.S. manner.

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Chapter VIII

Physical Anthropology and Pathology

128 [175] Unfortunately in 1912 the Nambicuara were not yet sufficiently accustomed to the presence of strangers in their mountains. In spite of their bribed willingness, they viewed my research with justifiable suspicion.

101
124 The Indians who were examined belonged to the following groups:[1] Cocozu, Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite [Tauitê]. Among the Uaintaçu, a still hostile group, I was able to gather only one incomplete set of data. The state of excitement of the Indian during the examination did not permit better results.

142 Their skin is the color of yellowish burned sienna, dark among the Cocozu, light among the others. Some Tagnani individuals have an almost pinkish complexion. Many nearly black types are found among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers; those are the darkest Indians in Brazil. On the Roquette-Childe color scale used in the National Museum of Rio de Janeiro, the coloring of these Indians varies between numbers six and ten.

The skin is coarse and wrinkled.

The hair is straight and coarse (lissotrichous). Some individuals have wavy hair similar to that of the Polynesians. The Indians 302 usually pull out their body and face hair and cut it on the forehead with a bivalve shell. [176] A few of them leave some strands of hair above or below the lips.

[266] Nearly all permit their nails to grow freely, for they make useful implements to tear the meat at mealtime.

[147] The soles of their feet never become thickly callused as those of Negroes who go barefoot.

[illegible] Their feet are relatively large, their legs slender and muscular. The abdomen is prominent, the hands small. The chest is knotty [encordoado] and not very large.

141 The measurements which we were able to obtain for normal adult males are shown in Tables A[2] and B.

[2] [See pp. 66-67, category 116. —Analyst]

[1] [Nambicuara sub-groups-- Analyst]

141 Table C[1] provides the data furnished by the pelvic measurements taken on some of the women, which indicate that the pelvic diameters are small. This is either what obstetricians call a "slender pelvis" [bacia gracil], or else it is a normal variant of the so-called aequabiliter justo minor (aequabiliter) found in our clinics in its aberrant form.

Women with such small pelves are [generally] short in stature; Nambicuara women are 1, 47 meters in height as compared with 1, 62 meters for the men.

Since as a general rule the stature of women is some seven per cent shorter than that of men, the height of Nambicuara women should be about 1, 51 meters.

Roughly, it may be said that [Nambicuara] women are twelve centimeters shorter than [Nambicuara] men. In Table C, however, we find some types which exceed this average.

Some interesting facts were provided by an examination of [female] body proportions carried out on a few individuals who presented a configuration of the most characteristic physical traits found in Nambicuara women. [Page of plates 176] [177] The resulting data are indispensable to the task of comparative physical anthropology.

The height of the head is slightly more than six times the height of the body (6, 5).

The cerebral segment of the face and the respiratory segment are identical [in size]; the digestive segment is larger than the others.

The distance between the eyes (internal palpebral breadth) is longer than the lid opening; thus the eyes are set far apart due to the width of the nasal root.

141
142 The trunk is quadrangular, without lumbar depression and without a trace of steatopygia. The breasts of pubescent girls are small and cup-shaped, according to the Ploss-Bartels classification. In mothers they are large and not always widely separated; the base of the nipple is cupped outward, and the teat is erect. Among some of the mothers, the space between the breasts is half the diameter of one of the breasts.

The mid-point of the body is located above the pubic symphisis.

The jugulo-xiphoid distance (from the sternal furculum to the

[1] [See p. 68, category 116.--Analyst]

7: Roquette-Pinto--2A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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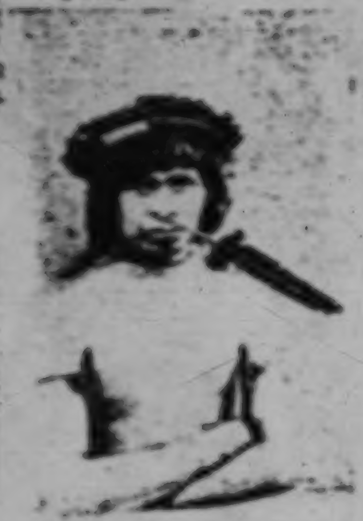
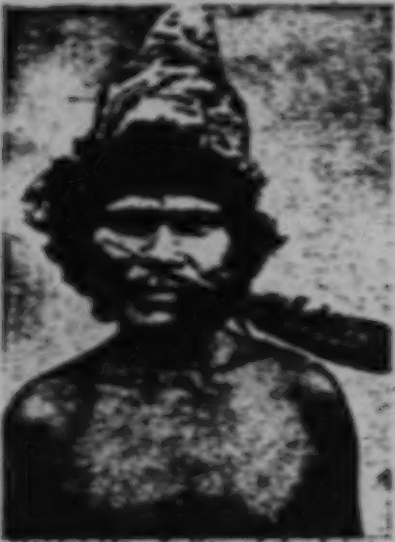
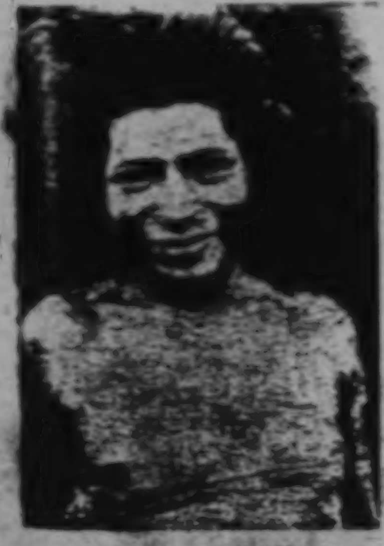


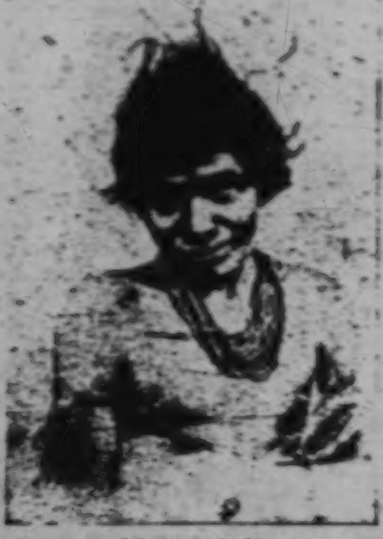
Nambicuara Indian



Uaknarga--Indian of the Juina River



Serra do Norte Indian



Nambicuara Indian

141 xiphoid appendix) is half the xiphoid-pubic distance; thus the height
142 of the abdomen is twice the height of the chest. In turn, the xiphoid-umbilical distance is twice the length of the umbilical-pubic line. This means that the navel of Nambicuara women lies closer to their pubis.

Pinard has already commented on the practical importance of these ratios in the semeiology of pregnancy. He showed how wrong it would be to apply to all races the research data that concern only a few.

I saw several pregnant Nambicuara women. The pregnancy was already in an advanced stage, but they would not allow any serious examination and I can state nothing about it.

147 [178] It is relevant to point out, however, that none of them exhibited those intradermic furrows caused by the forced distension of the abdomen "pregnancy weals") which occur frequently among white women.

In any case, the skin does not always have the same coefficient of extensibility.

The Indians' skin is endowed with special properties of which we know little. Martius depicted in his Atlas a Mizanya Indian whose pierced nostrils had stretched so much that he could wrap them around the ears on either side.

The lips of the Botocudo provide another example of this.

141 Among the males, the three chief segments of the head follow
142 the same ratio. The digestive segment is larger than the other two.

Again the height of the chest is half the height of the abdomen. The same ratios found among the women between the chest and the abdomen and between the parts of the latter are found among the men.

In view of these thoracic-abdominal ratios and of the distance from the navel to the pubis, it may be said that the Nambicuara man has a woman's trunk; and to carry further the study of these interesting proportions, it would not be wrong to assert that among these people the adult retains certain morphological characteristics peculiar to childhood, such as the location of the navel.

141 The mid-point of the body is located differently according
142 to sex: in the men it lies at the lower edge of the pubic symphisis.

The lower limbs of the women are longer; the men have a longer trunk. The women tend to be macroskelic, the men brachyskelic. We may note here that data obtained by Alex Hrdlicka among adolescents in North America proved the opposite to be the case among white populations.

The stature of the men is seven and a half times the height of the head; this follows the Greek rule; it is an interesting fact. The distance between the eyes is longer than the lid opening; the total height of the face is slightly greater than the length of the hand. The hand is about one tenth the total height of the body, the foot one eighth. The arm and forearm are roughly the same length. Metchnikoff's "Mongolian eye" is rarely found.

Among the Indians of the Serra do Norte ["Northern Mountain Range"], premature loss of the incisors does not occur as it does among the Paressi.

145 According to my observations among some boys and youths, tooth-cutting does not follow the pattern usually found in the white race; the permanent teeth seem to appear at a different age.

Among whites, as a general rule, the dental arches are filled out as follows:

—	—	∧	o	o	O	O	O
8	9	1[1/A]	10	11	7	13	18

The first molar appears at the age of seven, the median incisors at eight, the lateral incisors at nine. The first premolar is cut at ten, the second at eleven; the canines emerge at twelve, the second molar at thirteen. The wisdom tooth or third molar appears at the age of eighteen, fragile and useless, [180], if it does not remain embedded in the gum through life.

Indeed the most interesting facts about the dentition of these Indians relate to the wisdom teeth, for more than once I noted their presence in youths who had certainly not yet reached their eighteenth year.

[1/A] [Should read 12 in light of explanation below.- Analyst]

165 It seemed to me that these people get their full set of teeth much earlier.

Those molars which are popularly called wisdom teeth, and which are tending to disappear in the white race, are no mere ornaments among the Indians. They are endowed with significant size and function.

264
165 I believe that the excessive amount of work required of their digestive system is reflected in these dental characteristics. The large molars appear earlier because they are needed for frequent and powerful mastication.

262 They always eat of everything, without discrimination or restraint. To my knowledge, there is no animal they will not eat. They discard only the intestinal tract of the game they kill.

[190] The Indians of the Juruena River consume more meat than the
[514] others; those from José Bonifácio eat more manioc and maize. Their intestinal gas makes their company unpleasant. They all have furred
164 tongues, and many have gums affected by alveolar piorrhea. Their teeth, contrary to frequent cases among the Sambaqui skulls, do not suffer from the state of wear which Lund described in 1842 for Lagoa Santa man; but they suffer from caries which do not spare the crowns.

A special skin disease prevails among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. (1)

[513]

(1) See E. Roquette-Pinto, Lectures at the Biblioteca Nacional [National Library] on March 15, 1913, and at the Sociedade Brasileira de Dermatologia, Policlinica Geral do Rio de Janeiro [Brazilian Dermatological Society, Main Polyclinic of Rio de Janeiro], on June 11, 1912.

[181] Actually, some officials of the Rondon Commission had noticed the characteristic scabs of the disease. Owing perhaps to a lack of typical cases such as I witnessed, however, they took the spots
[513] to be mere skin exfoliations caused by the friction of the body on the ground, where the Serra do Norte Indians sleep.

164 But when I examined those individuals whose photographs [sic] are shown here, I verified the existence of a true skin disease, similar to several others which are found among our aborigines.

The disease appears at all ages; it was found among nursing children as well as old people, and both sexes are affected.

It appears to be more common among the Indians of the Juruena and Juina rivers. The Pareci, their near neighbors, do not know the disease; and I did not hear of any case among the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

No part of the body is spared except the scalp. The nails are exempt, and the face is seldom affected.

The disease is not rare, and it is easy to see traces of its presence on many of the Indians. However, I believe that the intensity of its development is quite variable, for I could verify its well defined symptoms in only eight out of some 400 Indians.

This skin disorder has three successive clinical stages, and one individual may exhibit lesions belonging to different stages. Some scales show transitional forms.

In its first stage the disease produces very small cysts full of a serous liquid and placed in linear, circular and concentric arrangements. In-between, the skin looks healthy; the cysts [182] are not surrounded by any visible inflamed zone. There is no heat or redness. [Fig. 14]

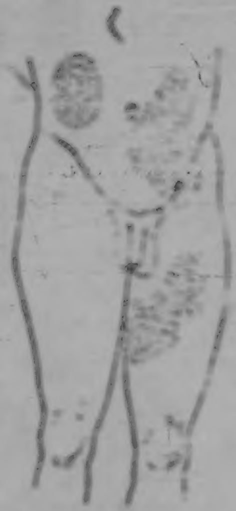
Then the cysts grow slightly and dry up, forming scaly crusts which follow the contours of the early pattern. But the circular shapes are no longer clear, for the initial lesions have converged in many areas across the stretches of healthy skin. This is how the large exfoliating scales are formed which characterize the second stage of the disease.

The third stage is brought about in the same manner. The scales develop side by side; they eventually unite, and the scaling becomes generalized. In addition, the scales grow considerably in size as the final stage of the disease reaches its climax.

The affected person becomes repulsive.

One Indian woman had a multitude of scales standing all over her body, like strips of dark tissue paper fastened to the skin at one end.

7; Roquette-Pinto--GA E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)



Báanêcêdúrú--First stage of the Serra do Norte
skin disease (sketch).

164 These papery scales cannot be removed easily; I noticed that they did not come off when the woman scratched herself. I believe that the itching is much less severe at this time; it seemed more intense during the initial stages.

I cannot be definite about the time span of the disease. The symptoms evolve in a few days from the first to the second stage, but the latter seems quite prolonged.

[183] Some of the scabs contain incipient papery scales. However, as I had the opportunity to see only one woman and one girl, her daughter, whose bodies were entirely covered with the lesions of the last stage, I believe that the disease does not always reach this point. It may remain stationary at the second stage, or it may recede [involuir].

For the time being, therefore, I ascribe three stages to the disease:

(a) the cyst stage
(b) the scab stage
(c) the scale stage

I believe that these correspond to evolutionary phases of the same disease, and not to different diseases, because I found transitional forms on some of the affected individuals.

Besides, [the Indians] indicated by means of very clear signs that the final symptoms began with the cyst stage, the only one found in nursing children.

[757] The Indians spread saliva on the scabs; we do not know yet [276] whether they use any herb against the disease. They probably do, for veritable herbariums were found in their villages.

302 751 Another question that remains to be solved is the possible effect on the disease of the Indians' custom of painting their body with a greasy paste made from the juice of the urucu seeds. (1)

[113] 1. Alvaro Osorio de Almeida (in the Boletim do Museu Nacional, Vol. 7, 1931, No. 1) studies the reactions of skin painted with urucu to the actinic rays of light and to solar heat. His experiments led him to the following conclusions:

"Once smeared with urucu, the

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Indians are as well protected against the actinic action of the sun as if they were wearing the thick clothing of the Sahara tribes. Because they are nude, however, the air circulates freely around their body, reducing the heat and hastening the evaporation of perspiration.

"If exposed to sunlight, in accordance with the property described above, urucu absorbs only slightly the heat of the sun, reflecting the red rays and also the heat rays. For this reason the white man or one with slight pigmentation, when smeared with urucu, does not perspire excessively as does the Negro under the same circumstances.

"In view of the properties ascribed to urucu by our experiments, and of the widespread usage of this dye among the Indians of tropical America, we believe that it should be considered not as merely ornamental but as an effective means of protection against tropical light and heat."

164 [184] The manifestations and evolution of the disease lead us to believe that it is a dermatomycosis. The habitat of the pathogenic fungus is probably to be found in the soil. This would explain why the personnel of the Line, who have lived among the Nambicuara for years, have not yet contracted the disease. This also applies to the Paressi, who are now in contact with the diseased Indians. Both groups, unlike [513] the Nambicuara, make use of hammocks and never sleep on the ground.

To this day, no microscopic examination of the scales has been made, and I am not responsible for this failure. In 1912 the Indians [123] would not allow us to collect the necessary materials; they were still suspicious.

164 The aboriginal name for this disease in the Serra do Norte is [illegible]. I believe that the word refers to the curvilinear shape of the lesions, for [illegible] is the generic name given by these Indians to the spirally constructed gastropod shells.

The above will suffice to indicate that this pathological manifestation had not yet been described among Brazilian aborigines.

Some of the skin diseases peculiar to our Indians bear no similarity to the [illegible] of the Serra do Norte.

The following diseases may be disregarded at once [as possibly related forms]: yaws [pian], mange [curub], pinhã, manga, pereb, xeroderma (ichthyosis), leishmanioses, etc.

[Page of plates p. 164.]

[165] Pereb is the Tupian name for commonplace skin boils such as those caused by staphylococcus.

Pinhã was found among some Amazon Indians by Martius. It is probably a kind of furuncular disease. Martius considered it a sort of anthrax.

Yaws is now well known; as far back as 1558 it was admirably described by Thévet, and in 1578 by Jean de Léry. In 1613 the learned priest Yves d'Evreux masterfully pointed out its likeness to the "Naples disease." The Indians of the Serra do Norte exhibit nothing of the sort.

It should also be noted that they do not know leprosy or the leishmaniosic sores which afflict the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

I did not see a single Indian afflicted with malignant sores [feridas bravas], while the infirmary at São Luiz de Cáceres overflowed with victims of the disease who came from the camp.

Nor does the Nambicuara disease bear any similarity to the skin disorder of the "Antisian" Indians (Mosetene, Tacana, Yuracare) who live on the eastern watersheds of the Andes in Peru and Bolivia.

The hombres overos, as the Spaniards named these Indians, exhibit large, irregular, whitish patches of unclear contours, located chiefly on the joints.

D'Orbigny states that these spots never have a grainy appearance; that children are spared; and that the skin of those affected remains completely smooth.

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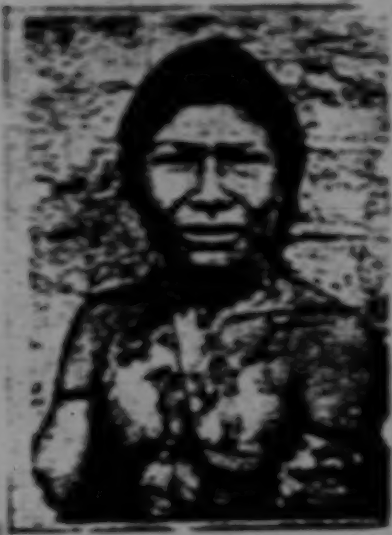
Indian woman of the Serra do Norte



Skin disease of the Serra do Norte Indians (unretouched photograph)

Nambicuara Indian

Tawite Nambicuara

7: Roquette-Pinto--10 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

164 The disease of the *overos* is in fact equivalent to the *vaurana* [77] of our Tupian Indians, and actually the same as the "Carate disease" of Colombia, the "spotted disease," *lota* in Central America or *purupuru* in the Amazon.

164 [186] Spix and Martius at the beginning of the last century, 114 and after them other naturalists, found the disease spread out through the great valley. Many chroniclers dealt with it, Baena in greatest detail.

"*Purupuru,*" [wrote Spix and Martius], "is the name given by the Brazilians to those Indians who are really called *Pamaouiri* and who live on the Purus River."

They described the disease of the "Pamaouiri" (or Paumary as they are called today), listing as its major characteristic the presence of irregular skin spots, isolated or converging, blackish, and somewhat coarse to the touch.

Martius believed that some white spots occasionally found among the black ones represented the initial stage of the disease.

He thought that *purupuru* was hereditary, although its external manifestations appeared only after puberty. The Indians Martius met attributed the disease to "a bad condition of the blood"; and the naturalist believed that the "amphibious life" of these people, their food and some of their customs had a great deal to do with the coming forth of *purupuru*.

Later, through dissemination of the disease, the name came to designate all the tribes of the Purus-Juruá region: Paumary, Yuberi, Arua, etc.

About twenty years ago, Ehrenreich noted certain curious facts about the manifestations of *purupuru*. He confirmed that the disease only develops after puberty. He found some Indians whose feet and hands were entirely white, giving the impression of a partial albinism or a kind of vitiligo.

According to Ehrenreich, the spots have a grayish blue color in the first stage of the disease. As the edges whiten, the center becomes darker.

[187] He personally never observed the scaling of affected ones. But he relates popular reports to the effect that the Paumary

164 secretly mix the scales from their skin with the food and water of their
114 neighbors so that the disease may affect them too.

He adds that no hair grows on the white spots. The itching is always intensive.

In 1909, Koch-Grünberg wrote of the *purupuru* found in the valley of the Rio Negro. In accordance with the Indians' views he distinguished three varieties of the disease, white, black, and red, depending on the predominant coloring of the spots. Koch-Grünberg says that the black spots are hard and coarse, the white ones smooth and similar in aspect to burns.

However, Oswaldo Cruz (1) stated in 1913 that there is no justification for this division into three varieties. He considers the white spots to constitute a more advanced stage of the disease and to result from the elimination of skin pigment by an infectious agent.

Oswaldo Cruz also noted scaling around the black spots.

Already in 1886, Hirsch (2) had stated that *purupuru* could only be a dermatomycosis. The studies of Montoya y Flores (3) and

[113] 1. Oswaldo Cruz, *Relatorio sobre as condições medico-sanitarias do vale do Amazonas* [Report on the Medical and Sanitary Conditions of the Amazon Valley], Ministry of Agriculture (Rio, 1913).

[113] 2. A. Hirsch, *Handbuch der historisch-geographischen Pathologie* [Handbook of Historical and Geographical Pathology] (1886).

[113] 3. J. B. Montoya y Flores, "Recherches sur les Caratés de Colombie [Studies on the Carate of Colombia]" (Paris, 1893); *Archives de Parasitologie*, Vol. 2; "Notes sur les Caratés" [Notes on the Carate], *Ann. de Derm. et de Syphil.* (1897).

164 [114] Oswaldo Cruz, though not yet conclusive, seem to justify this hypothesis.

[188] The Indians of the Serra do Norte live on tributaries of the Amazon, and consequently in the vicinity of the extensive area where *purupuru* has been found. Yet they are indisputably free from the disease. Their isolation has protected them.

Báanêcêdútú bears some similarity to ringworm (*herpes circinatus*) and also to *tokelau* (*tinea imbricata*).

[114] In 1897 Ehrenreich confused these two diseases and stated that they are frequent among the Indians of the tropical zone.

Ringworm, however, is not the same as *tokelau*, and these diseases are not widespread among the Indians. The latter's skin, exposed as it is to numerous disturbing factors present in the environment, is often affected by "artificial eruptions of internal of external origin" which might be confused in certain cases with parasitic diseases.

However, there is no doubt that the initial stages of the Serra do Norte skin disorder would resemble those of *herpes circinatus*, with their concentric circles of small cysts, if they did not lack the inflammation that goes with *herpes*.

Perhaps this symptom merely goes unnoticed, owing either to the thickness of the skin or to its scanty blood supply, absence of hair, small number of sebaceous glands, etc.

The subsequent manifestations of the Serra do Norte disease, however, preclude its identification with ringworm. In its final stage, the disease of the Nambicuara is much more similar to *tinea imbricata*.

The covering of the individual with long scales similar to strips of tissue paper, which I clearly observed among my Indians, is also ascribed to *tokelau*. In *tokelau* as in *báanêcêdútú*, moreover, there is no inflammation [189] around the lesions and the hairy parts are not affected.

Tinea imbricata also begins with cystic formations, but in the Nambicuara disease the transformation of the cysts into "systems" is much more irregular. Actually there are no true "scaling systems" as in *tokelau*, but rather scabs surrounded by scales so small that they have a grainy appearance.

164 Thus the true likeness between the two diseases only appears clearly in the last stage, when the elongated papery scales cover the whole body.

On the other hand, the symptomatology of the Serra do Norte disease bears no similarity to that of the Araguaia River tokelau which was described in 1903 by Dr. C. Paes Leme (1) and which Fritz Krause failed to mention. The general symptoms reported [by Leme] are altogether lacking among the Serra do Norte Indians, whose ailment bears all the characteristics of a local disease.

For these reasons, I believe that báanêcêdútú is an exfoliating dermatomycosis, perhaps even a tinea akin to tokelau.

At that time it proved impossible to obtain materials for microscopic examinations. At present the situation is more favorable; the sick are becoming more trustful, and this makes it possible to carry out much more complex investigations.

I have examined [ornamental] bands and other objects which had long been in direct contact with the skin lesions. It is obvious that such observations are quite rudimentary, and I do not expect them to be successful. Should it prove possible to isolate a fungus from these objects, to cultivate it and innoculate it, I shall return to this interesting subject.

It is the task of specialists to complete and correct these notes, which merely attempt to record the clinical [190] aspects of a pathological manifestation found among some primitive Indians. Sooner or later, contaminated by alien infections which unfortunately they will be unable to avoid, they will exhibit similar disturbances in a different form, modified by the benefits and evils of civilization. (1)

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[113] 1. C. Paes Leme, "Contribuição ao estudo do Tokelâu [Contribution to the Study of Tokelau] ," Doctoral Thesis (Rio, 1903).

113 1. See Olympio da Fonseca Filho, "Afinidades parasitologicas e clinicas

7: Roquette-Pinto--13A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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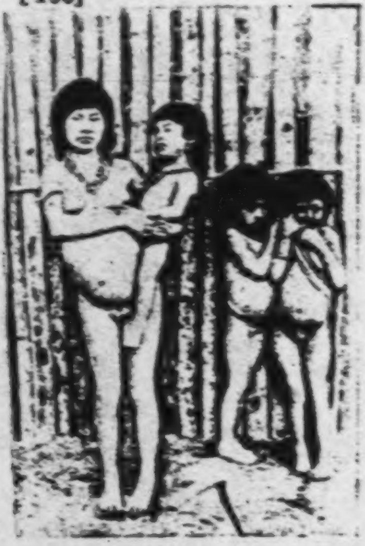
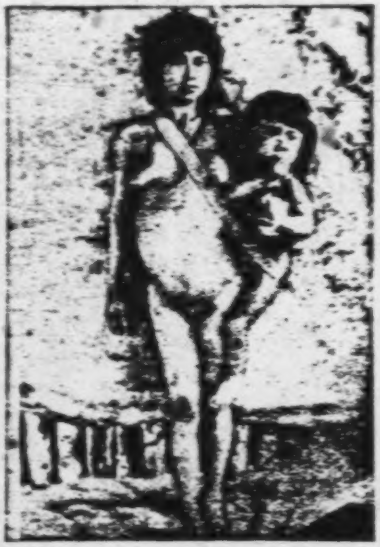
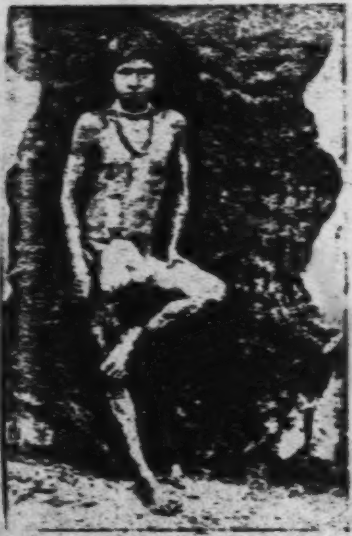


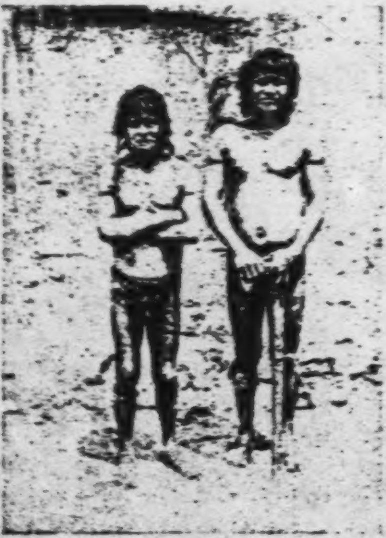
Tagnani mother and daughter



Tagnani mother and son



Tagnani Indian



Serra do Norte Indians

7: Roquette-Pinto--138 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
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Tagnani Nambicuara Indians

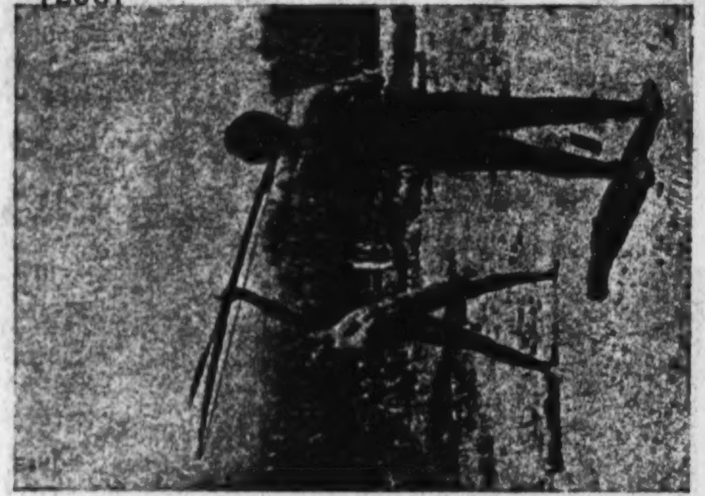
Nambicuara Indian

Tagnani girls

Indian woman of the Serra do Norte

7: Roquette-Pinto--13C E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[206]



142
411
516

Indian of the Serra do Norte shooting an arrow for elevation.

000

113 entre o tokeláu da Asia e da Oceania e o chimberê dos indigenas de Mato-Grosso [Parasitological and Clinical Affinities between the *Tokelau* of Asia and Oceania and the *Chimberê* of Mato Grosso Aborigines]," *Boletim do Museu Nacional,* Vol. 6 (1930) No. 2.

[Pp. 191 through 210 omitted because they do not pertain to the Nambicuara.]

144
142 [211] If we compare the Serra do Norte Indians with other Brazilian aboriginal types, the following similarities and differences become apparent and worthy of note:

Skin: Their skin coloring places them alongside the Bororo and Caraja. (1) The southern group comprises the darkest Indians in Brazil.

[113] 1. The following data from Paul Ehrenreich's *Estudos antropologicos sobre os Primitivos Habitantes do Brasil* [Anthropological Studies on the Primitive Inhabitants of Brazil] (1897) were cited earlier by the author: "The skin color of the Paressi and Bororo is considerably darker and even more reddish [than that of other groups cited], being comparable to the tone of terra cotta (Broca Scale 30, 32, 44). The Caraja are the darkest on the exposed areas of the body." (Ed.)

141
144 *Hair:* The average index found in cross-section was about 59, very close to that of the Semang (Negritoes) of the Malayan Peninsula. Very intense pigmentation, thick medulla; circular section. [Fig. 15]

Stature: Twenty-five percent [of the Serra do Norte Indians] are less than 1.60 meters in height, 56 percent from 1.60 to 1.65 meters, and 19 percent from 1.65 to 1.70.

7: Roquette-Pinto--14A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938
SP17 N(ca. 1912)
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[203]

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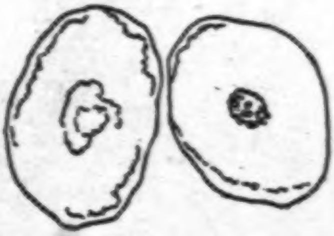

Fig. 15--Histological sections of hair of the Nambicuara Indians. Embedded in paraffin.

141 According to Ehrenreich's tables, in terms of stature the
144 Indians of the Serra do Norte occupy a position intermediary between the Paressi and Nahuqua, and come close to the Bacairi, Mehinacu, Trumai and Yamamadi.

[212] The percentage of elevated statures (19 percent) places the Nambicuara near the Cayapo (20 percent) and far from the Bacairi (0 percent), Nahuqua (6.6 percent), Trumai (0 percent) and Paressi (11 percent).

The difference in height between the sexes (0.12 meters) places them far from the Tupian Indians, among whom the man is often shorter than the woman, and from the Arawakan groups, where men and women are of the same height (Barbosa Rodrigues).

In the circumference of the chest, equal to one half their total height, they approach the normal types of the white race (De Giovanni). The index between total height and chest circumference is 50.

This is not the rule among Brazilian Indians, whose chest circumference is usually more than one half their total height. In Ehrenreich's tables, the Indians closest to the Nambicuara in this respect are the Caraja of the Araguaia River, whose index is 53.3.

141 The Manouvrier [Skelic] Index expresses the ratio between the
121 length of the upper part of the body and that of the lower limbs, which
144 together add up to the total stature. Morphologically and physiologically, the upper part of the body (head and trunk) is much more important than the lower limbs. To determine its relation to the total height, therefore, is to disclose to some extent the biological worth of the individual (Montessori).

Manouvrier distinguished three basic types in terms of this index, which he named *macroskelic*, *mesatiskelic* and *brachyskelic*. In the middle type (mesatiskelic) the upper part of the body adds to slightly more than half the total height (index 52); in the macroskelic type, the index varies from 52 to 50; in the brachyskelic type, from 53 to 55.

[213] . . . This ratio applies to adults, for the proportions of the body undergo basic modifications in the course of growth . . . . The [three types] occur among all races and all peoples; however, research has shown that there is a certain prevalence of brachyskelic types among the yellow races, of macroskelic types among the black races, and of mesatiskelic types among the whites.

141 144 Brazilian Indians are brachyskelic, and the Nambicuara constitute no exception [to this rule].

[214] In terms of their cephalic index, the Serra do Norte Indians must be placed alongside the Paressi on Ehrenreich's chart (76).

Their nasal index (85), which approaches platyrrhinism, places them far from the Cayapo and from the Indians of the Ge group, who according to Ehrenreich have the narrowest noses.

Their facial index (74.6) places them close to the Bororo (75.9) and far from the Paressi (81.5) and other Arawakan Indians.

This somatic description of the Serra do Norte Indians shows to some extent that their characteristically American physical substratum of the Mongoloid type has been subjected to numerous influences leading to the present lack of homogeneity.

Various crosses must have modified the original Nambicuara type. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, I believe, their type is very similar to that of the Indians who speak Nu-Arawakan dialects. It is a type modified by alien blood and possibly by Negro blood.

[Plates page 198.]

[215]

Chapter IX

Ethnography and Linguistics

131 The Indians scattered through the valley of the Juruena and through the Serra do Norte inhabit territories bathed by Amazonian waters.

101 They are called Nambicuara (Nyambiquara, Mambyuara, Mambryara, Membyuara, etc.) by the frontiersmen and by the neighboring civilized Indians.

161 They number a few thousand. We do not know how many, and any estimate would be worthless. Since we either visited or learned with certainty of some twelve villages, we may reach a total of 1,200 if we grant each village an average of 100 inhabitants.

7: Roquette-Pinto--17 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

101 The geographical range of the name "Nambicuara" is very significant; the term designates these Indians both in Mato Grosso and in Pará. This means that the inhabitants of the Serra do Norte are known by the same name to the north and to the south.

This might lead us to believe that the name is unusually distinctive. However, it is unknown to its bearers and altogether alien to the dialect of any of the groups. It is fitting nevertheless to retain it in order to avoid confusion.

131 The southern boundary of the Nambicuara region is the Papagaio
101 River.

In the north their territory apparently extends to the Gi-Paraná; in the east, to the Tapajoz; in the west, to the Guaporé.

The people who live near the banks of the Juruena and Juina, between the Papagaio and Camararé rivers, [216] and whom I shall name the "southeastern group," are called "Côcôzú" or "Côcôçú."

Those who live along the lower reaches of the Doze de Outubro River are called "Anunzê"; I shall refer to them as the "northeastern group." They probably extend as far as the confluence of the Arinos Juruena rivers, where a few members of the first group are also likely to be found.

[221] Those who live to the southwest of the wintering place [inverndad] at Campos Novos extend down to the Guaporé River; they are called "Uaintaçû" and constitute the "southwestern group."

The great "northwestern group" lives near the Madeira River, on the banks of tributaries of the Gi-Paraná. It seems to consist of various secondary groups related in ways which have not yet been clearly defined. The Indians I encountered at the wintering place of Três Buritis, at the Campos de Quatorze de Abril, at José Bonifacio and at Campos de Maria de Molina all belong to this division. Their principal group lives between the Doze de Outubro and Roosevelt (Rio da Dúvida) rivers.

Of the northern division I found only the Tagnani, Tawite, Salums, Tarute and Tashwite [Taschuitê]; and I only succeeded in gathering data on the first two.

101 The Anunze of Campos Novos speak of the "Tayopa" and "Shaodi-Koka" who have not yet been found; in the far north of the region, Rondon has recently discovered tribes such as the Kepikiriwat(1) which belong to other groups.

The Tagnani and Tawite refer to an enemy tribe which they call "Malutundú," "Ualutdú" or "Ualút-ndú."

[Page of plates 216.]

[217] It is likely that the Indians on whom the Nambicuara [825] have bestowed this name, which means tatu galinha [a nine-banded armadillo, Dasypus tatusia novemcinctus] are the Mundurucu of the Upper Tapajoz.

It is worth noting that the Anunze called the Cocozu "Cocozê," while the latter call the former "Anunzú."

The Cocozu call the southwestern group "Uaintaçú," while the Anunze call them "Uaindzê."

These Uaintaçu or Uaindze are the same people known in the vicinity of Mato Grosso, on the Guaporé River, by the name of "Cabishi"—a term which in turn has been applied by the Paressi in a pejorative way to the Cozarini group of their own tribe.

The Paressi have also bestowed on the Nambicuara the name of "Uaikoákôrê" (Ground Brother) because they sleep directly on the ground.

[142] The Tapanyuna of old, located by the chroniclers on the Upper Tapajoz, must have been Nambicuara of the Cocozu group, who are indeed the darkest people in the whole Juruena Valley. They fit their Tupian appellation of "black men."

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1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná and other tribes were described in Missão Rondon [The Rondon Mission] (Rio, 1916), and in the memoirs of Curt Nimuendajú published in the Journal de la Société des Américanistes. The Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 25 (1925) contain "Notas Antropometricas sobre os Indios Urupás [Anthropometric Notes on the Urupa Indians]" by Roquette-Pinto and A. Childe.

3

7:Roquette-Pinto--18A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[216]

342
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At the house door —village on the Juina River

Cocozu hut — Juina River

Nambicuara village

101 The position of all groups known to be scattered through the Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is recorded on the ethnographic map of the region which goes with these notes.[1]

[218] The exact meaning of the names cited above cannot yet be given with certainty. In the light of existing data, however, their study leads to the following conclusions which cannot be far from the truth.

Cocozu: "Uncles"; thus called by the others, perhaps, because they are the most primitive members of the whole tribe.

[578] Anunzu: This is clearly a corruption of the term anungzú or anungçú, which means "woman's milk"—a disparaging epithet like so many others found throughout the Americas; it may mean "infants" (unweaned babies).

Uaintaçu: Apparently a corruption of nuntaçú, which means "alligator" [Port. jacaré] in the language of the Juina Nambicuara. The Uaintaçu group would thus be none other than the old Jacare tribe mentioned in the first chapter of this work.

Tagnani: They are obviously the Tamarari of the old geographic maps; they should be equated with the Tamarare or Camarare, who gave the river its name and who are mentioned in several ancient documents.

Tawite: This word signifies "child" or "son" [offspring], a common appellation among other tribes as well.

In order to avoid future confusion, I propose to retain the name "Nambicuara" in conjunction with the specific name peculiar to each group.

341 The villages of the Serra do Norte Indians are usually built on the crest of small hills, far from the watercourses. Some are more than one kilometer distant from the nearest river or stream.

It may be assumed that the choice of such sites has a twofold aim: the Indians suffer less from mosquitoes and they dominate the surrounding territory, which is an advantage to people leading as they did up to now a life of constant warfare.

The village is built on a large plaza, fifty meters in diameter; once cleaned of bush, which is rooted up [219] by hand, the ground [535] is kept clear by the constant tread of feet. One night of dancing, with its endless beat along the same path, suffices to smooth out the village square.

[1] [See map following foreign text, cat. 116 - Analyst]

341 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[712
413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinamba of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[137] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

7: Roquette-Pinto--21 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)

342 O Round or oval, of a temporary character.

Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Paressi. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapuera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Posnansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machifero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Chuquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
2M. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
5C. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Piaroa. Cf. Chaffanjon.

342 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

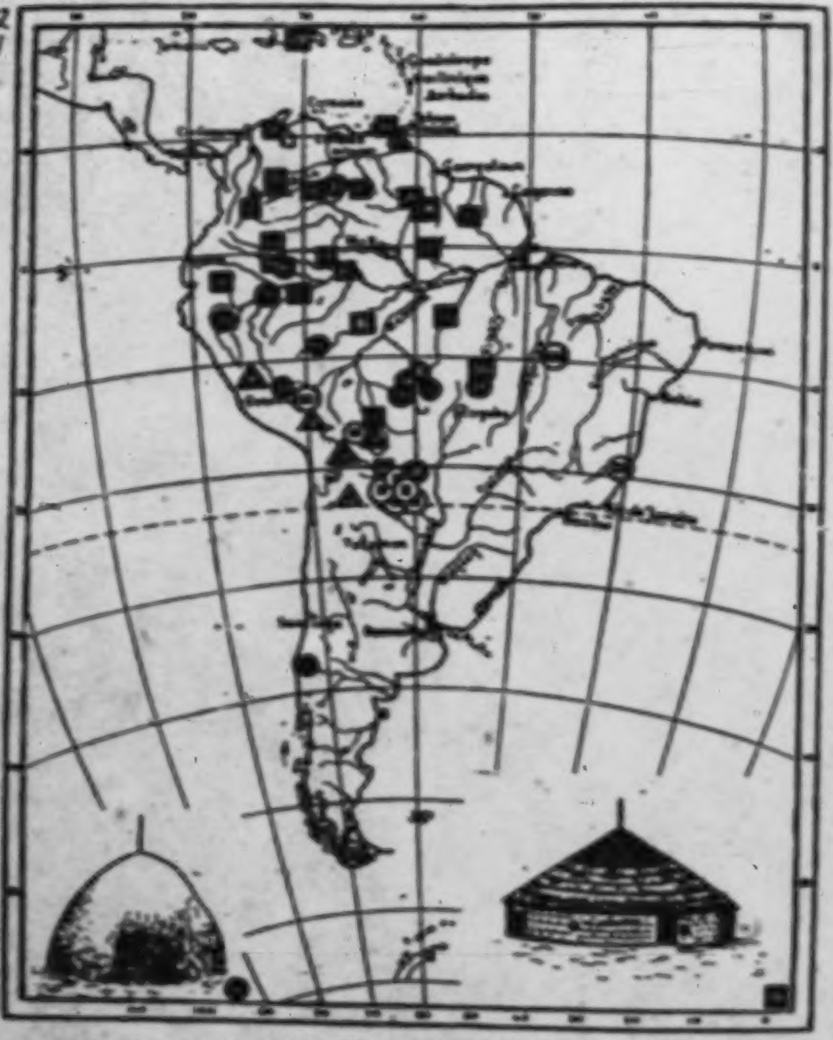
The permanent houses of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocozu village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7; Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

342
171



Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).
(Caption on p. 21.)

[222 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold
[223 them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to
224] the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a centrl support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

7: Roquette-Pinto--22A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342 [219]

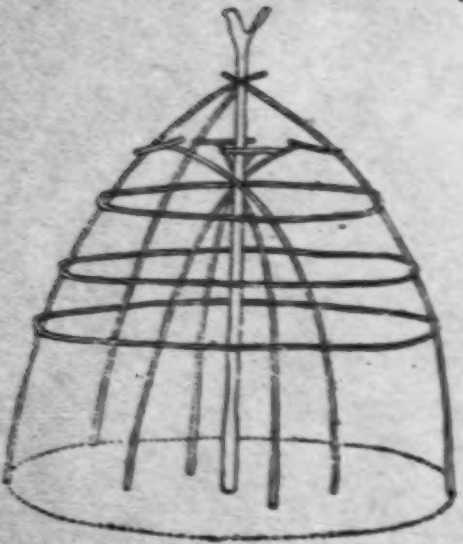


Fig. 16. Framework of a Serra do Norte Indian house.

7: Roquette-Pinto--228 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[226]

382

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi)
River

516

Nambicuara village

7: Roquette-Pinto--22C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[220]

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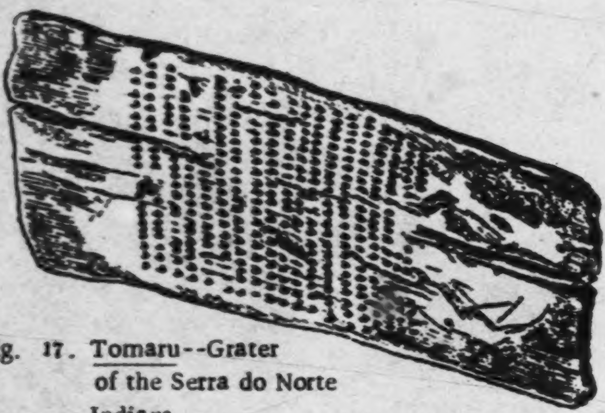

Fig. 17. Tomaru--Grater
of the Serra do Norte
Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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[221]

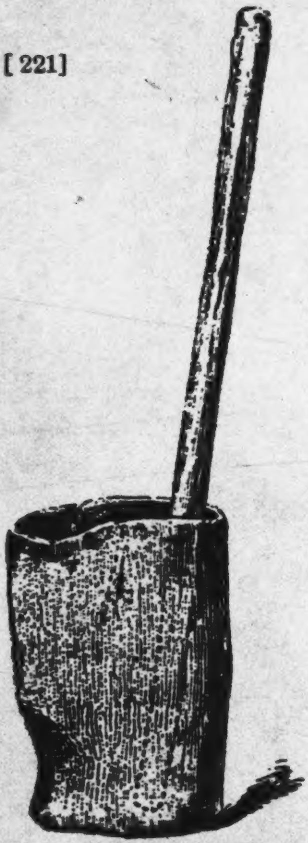

Fig. 18. Mortar of the
Serra do Norte Indians

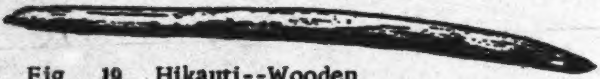

Fig. 19. Hikauti--Wooden knife of the Tawaite Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--23 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc
354 scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come
[252] through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as
well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the
Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a
house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would
have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind
commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock
pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To
[222 one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled
262] and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used
to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell
palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally
encountered in the sambaguis.

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

7:Roquette-Pinto--23A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412 [224]

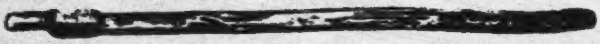

Fig. 20 . Implement made from a piece of iron by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--24 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[621] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village siçu, while the Anunze call it chicê. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[342] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

They change their dwelling place drequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

7: Roquette-Pinto--24A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[225]

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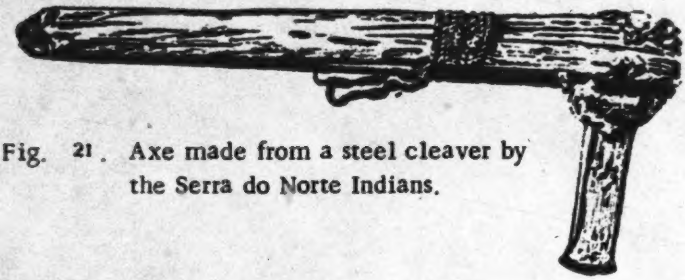


Fig. 21. Axe made from a steel cleaver by the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--24B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

412

[226]

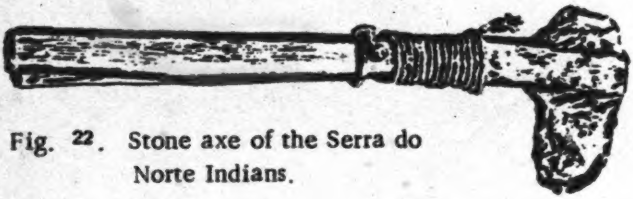


Fig. 22. Stone axe of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7: Roquette-Pinto--25 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an [768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts, [484] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

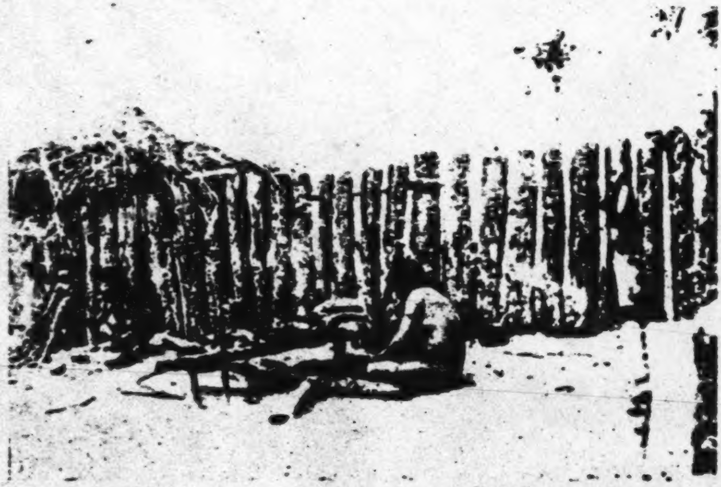
513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

342

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians

516



Serra do Norte Indians

513 At the post of Três Buritis, where they camped with us for a few days, they disputed every night the occupancy of a crude wooden table where the station personnel ate their meals; they already appreciated our habit of sleeping above the ground.

Why, then, did they not make use of the hammocks? Because they were not familiar with it.

[248 824] They are capable of plaiting cotton and *tucum* (1) thread more than adequately enough to make a hammock; and they are also capable of appreciating their neighbor's hammock, as indeed they do now.

This ethnographic trait attests to the inferior position of the Serra do Norte Indians.

[171] [228] This unfamiliarity [with the hammock] is in fact characteristic of the large Ge-Botocudo group of Brazil, which in the consensus of all who have studied it comprises the most backward aborigines in the Americas.

All Serra do Norte Indians sleep directly upon the earth. They spread nothing in the way of leaves, straw, pallets or hides between themselves and the ground.

They nearly always rest on their side, pillowing the head on the forearm.

516 The men rarely sit directly on the ground; they usually squat. The women do the reverse. If standing in one spot for more than a few minutes, a man will usually flex one leg and rest his foot against the other knee; the women assume a characteristic posture which I have never seen described and which is clearly shown on the photographs we took.

They cross their thighs, thrusting the right part of the pelvis forward and the left part forcibly backward. The longitudinal axis of the right foot, if extended, cuts that of the left foot almost at a right angle.

They frequently cross their arms.

201 When excited or roused by happiness or fear, they repeatedly slap the back of their head with their open right hand. When displeased, they make the same gesture while exclaiming: "*Ikátnerá!*"

1. *Bactris setosa* (Ed.).

[Fig. 18]

241 They subsist chiefly on the produce of husbandry; the development of agriculture in their backward milieu [229] constitutes one of the paradoxical traits of this tribe.

262 As a general rule, it may be said that the Nambicuara eat of everything; unlike some other Indians, they do not shun certain species of animals. A mosquito that lands on their body, a louse, a locust, a small lizard that scampers by--nothing is spared.

[252] Some of them carry sticks to kill any snakes they may encounter; they roast them in the embers and eat the delicacy with pleasure.

After roasting their catch, they discard only the stomach.

At the camp on the Primavera River, whenever one of them was hungry he would run off into the bush and return with a live calango [a small lizard]; after beating the head of the little animal against a piece of wood [230] he would throw it into the hot ashes. Later he would tear open the animal's abdomen with his nails, remove the stomach and enjoy the rest. On another occasion, the Indians caught an armadillo and killed it by twisting its neck.

In hunting and fishing they use arrows that will be described later.

252 262 [225] They prepare the eggs of the wild duck (Cairina moschata, L.) by nestling them in shallow depressions in the embers after turning them on a diminutive spit stuck through a small hole punched in the shell.

The meat of large game--deer, paca (Coelogenis paca), [225] capybara (Hydrochoerus capybara)--is utilized only after it has been pounded in a mortar or beaten between two pieces of wood.

[Fig. 19]

264 They cut off large pieces with their nails, with their teeth, and sometimes with knives of wood or bamboo. No sooner have they gulped down what is in their mouth than they suck their fingers, clucking their tongue noisily.

251 The Tagnani are familiar with the preserving properties of smoke; the meat we handed out to them was not all eaten on the same day. They hung the remnants on the barbecue [moquém].

252 The Cocozu do not use a barbecue; they roast their meat in the embers. The quantity of ashes they swallow with the roast is considerable.

[Plates p. 230.]

[231] The Tagnani and Tawite build a characteristic type of barbecue. They set up four stakes which they connect with four crosspieces; between these they place two sticks to hold the pieces of meat.

[Fig. 23]

[272] 262 They drink honey mixed with water (hydromel). They like young bees, which they eat with the honey and wax.

252 They do not allow the maize to ripen, but eat it roasted when still green. Manioc is subjected to the same process, or it is used in grated form to make cakes [beiju].

They press the gratings with embira cord and prepare very white pellets with the starch. To make the cakes, they open a cavity in the hot ashes of the fire and deposit in it a pellet of manioc dough which they smooth out with some piece of wood and with their hands. Then they cover it with ashes and embers; after a period of time which we do not know how they estimate, they uncover a large, roasted, sweet-smelling cake, somewhat sour, but which would be rather pleasant if it were not so covered with ashes and if it had not been prepared by such an unclean process...

[262 824] Green mangaba, (1) no sooner seen, is immediately plucked and placed in the embers. When roasted, it turns tender and pleasing to the taste.

[262] From bacaba palm nuts the Tawite make a purplish mush (uidniarê) which tastes like green leaves and which they relish. In order to prepare this uid-niarê, they pound the fruit of the palm and place it in water over the fire. This is actually a decoction.

273 We did not have an opportunity to observe the preparation of any fermented liquids. Yet the Indians make alcoholic beverages by

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1. Fruit of the mangabeira (Hancornia speciosa). (Ed.)

7:Roquette-Pinto--28A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[230]

516
291

Nambicuara at Três Buritis

[854]

Nambicuara children

7;Roquette-Pinto--28B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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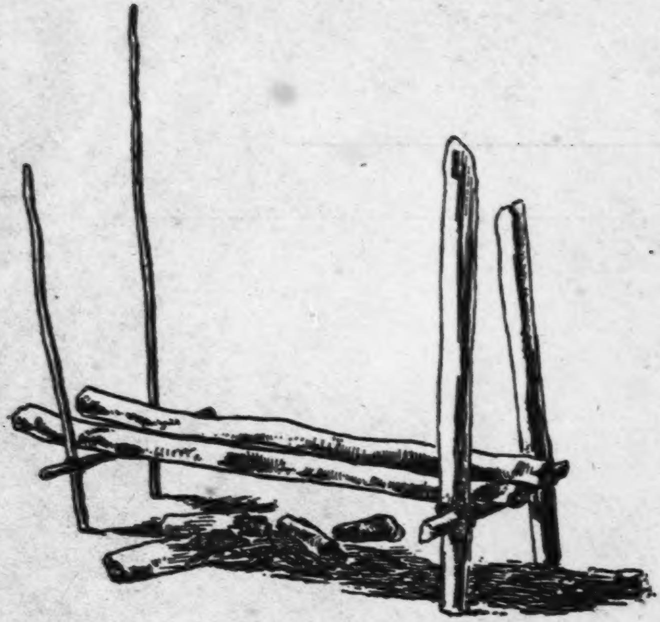

Fig. 23. Barbecue of the Tagnani and Tawite.

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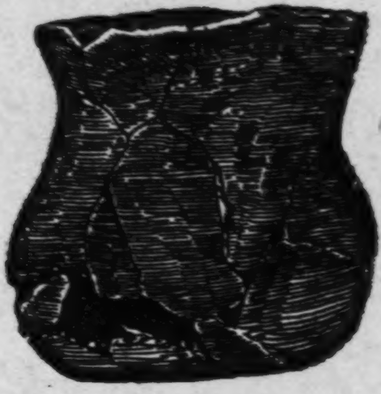

Fig. 24. Clay pot of the Serra do Norte Indians (1).

1. Today, the [National] Museum owns several large ceramic vessels brought from the Serra do Norte. The piece illustrated here deserves special mention, for it was the first one obtained in 1909.

[232]

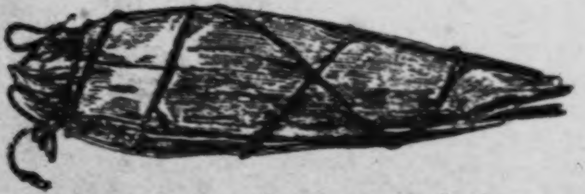

Fig. 25. Container to protect feather ornaments.

273 the usual process: they masticate manioc or maize and allow the mush to ferment in large pots. One drink thus extracted from the wild pineapple was held in high regard by the personnel of the Telegraph Line.

[262] 26 They are especially fond of monkey meat--a last vestige, perhaps, of their former cannibalistic tastes.

I do not think that cannibalism still exists among them. But I believe that it has not been long since the habit was lost.

It is true, nevertheless, that they often accuse one another of this practice; they make such accusations in a perfectly clear manner, by means of unequivocal signs.

372 [233] They make fire by rubbing together two rods similar to those found elsewhere in Brazil.

This procedure takes much longer than might be expected.

The Indian begins by placing a dry leaf upon the ground; upon it he rests the "stationary fire stick," which he supports with his foot and knee.

[Fig. 26]

Holding the "movable fire stick" between the palms of his hands, he imparts to it the necessary rotary motion, bearing down with it at the same time against the other stick. This motion forces the hands downward along the rod; [when he gets to the bottom], the Indian starts again from the top. Now and then he stops briefly to lick his palm, which smarts from the friction. After a while, when sweat is already beading his forehead, a spark strikes up among the tinder which has been deposited on the leaf.

This process differs from the classical technique only by the presence of the protective leaf.

Because this procedure is laborious, the Indians carry it out with reluctance. Desirous of obtaining a film which would document all their routine activities, I had great difficulty in persuading an Indian to make fire. This is the reason why, of all gifts, matches are among those valued most highly; to make fire after their fashion on a rainy day or in humid weather is a hard and laborious task.

[262 [illegible] 184] The Tagnani and Tawite also eat a certain kind of mushroom (*Polypherus* sp.) which the others disregard.

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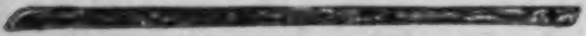

Fig. 28. Haitzũ--Firestick of the Serra do Norte Indians.

824 It is a curious fact that palm cabbage (palmito) is not utilized by the Serra do Norte Indians. Gabriel Soares [234] made it clear in 1587 that the aborigines of the coast prized the leaf buds of the palm tree: "Stupendous palm cabbages, five or six spans in length and as thick as a man's leg, are extracted from the buds of these palms."

273 Pineapple wine was a common beverage, for Soares goes on to say: "The nature of this fruit is hot and humid, and it is very harmful [278] to those with open wounds or sores; the same pineapples, when green [757] are good for curing sores, for their juice eats away all the rotten and putrid flesh, and the aborigines know this; in such wise does this fruit [294] eat away, that they use its rind to wipe off the rust from their swords and knives and to remove the stains from the clothes they wash; when ripe, the juice is used by the Indians to make a wine which inebriates them; to this end they pluck the fruit not quite ripe, on account of its being more sour..."

263 The Indians of the Serra do Norte found our salted food unpleasant. They often refused the plates we set before them, giving us to understand that it was the salty flavor which led them to behave in this manner.

262 Milk (condensed milk) was also rejected in the beginning; they would make a face and say that it was human milk and therefore repulsive: [235] "Anungçú!"

261 One must know the Indians' gluttony; their insatiable hunger, their continual, unfailing, artless, persistent animus devorandi, fully to comprehend the disgust which led them to such a renunciation.

262
855 The children are given to eat of everything; no matter what goes into an Indian's mouth, there is always a crumb for the little one who walks beside him or rests in his arms.

276
855 Even the stimulants they use--tobacco, for instance--are shared with the children. More than once I had the opportunity to observe Indians giving cigarettes to children under two. (1)

[113]

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1. Cf. E. Roquette-Pinto, "A condição da criança entre os Indios do Brasil [The Status of the Child Among the Indians of Brazil," Primeiro Congresso Americano da Criança [First American Congress on Childhood] (Tucumán, 1916).

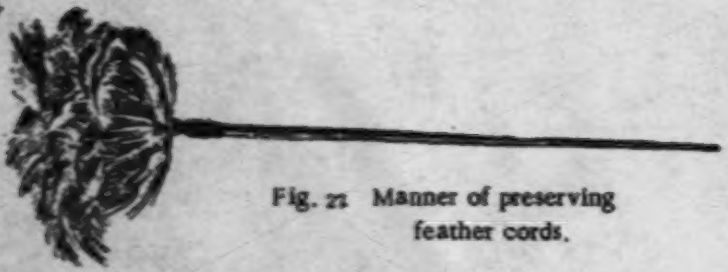

Fig. 23 Manner of preserving feather cords.

[235]

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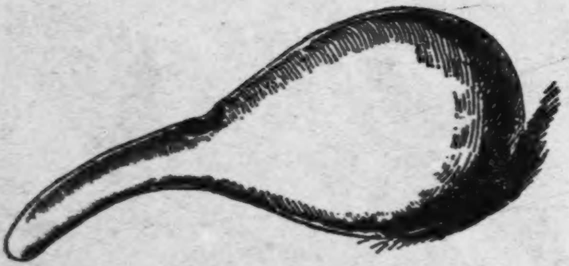

Fig. 28. Tobacco gourd.

7;Roquette-Pinto--31 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

264 The children partake of a meal immediately; the women eat later... whatever is left over, if there is a leftover. This, by the way, is the rule even among civilized Indians... But in general, if there is plenty, each helps himself to whatever there is, when he wishes and as he wishes; the food belongs to all.

262 [236] They skillfully remove the gall bladder from the liver of the animals they devour, but they do not have a special name for it.

[252] *Aarú* is a cake which the Cocozu prepare by pounding up a whole roasted armadillo in a mortar until its bones are completely mashed, and then mixing it with manioc dough in the form of *beiju*.

[825] An upland rat (*Scapteromys gnambiquarae*, Miranda Ribeiro), which the Paressi call *cólori*, is prized by the Nambicuara as a delicacy. They call it *arantaçú*.

244 They gather and utilize the produce of their husbandry from day to day. They have no special harvesting time, and no stores or surpluses except for the tobacco which they keep between two sticks hanging from the ceiling thatch.

251 There is always manioc dough in the house; it is the Nambicuara bread, which they eat with all their other foods. They keep the dough in large baskets lined with *pacova* (1) leaves.

1. A kind of banana. (Ed.)

[237] Leftover honey is kept in the gourd; it does not reach fermentation because the desire [to drink it] soon revives in some Indian...

261
[115] We did not see any rite connected with food; but the soldier Gouveia, who was held prisoner in a Nambicuara village for six months in 1911, witnessed such a ceremony. The Indians of that village (which was named Urutau) had killed a large tapir. (1) This was
[825]

1. Tapirus americanus, fairly abundant along the rivers of the area. Hard to catch because very wary.

[the pretext for] a feast. They dragged the animal to the village plaze. Then the men went off into the bush to gather branches with

7:Roquette-Pinto--31A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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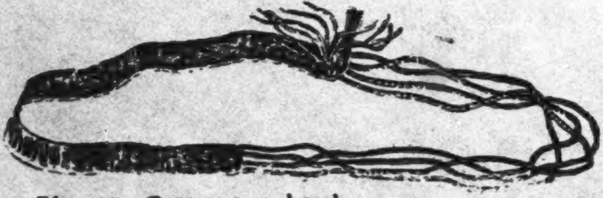

Fig. 29. Cotton arm band.

7:Roquette-Pinto--31B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 236]

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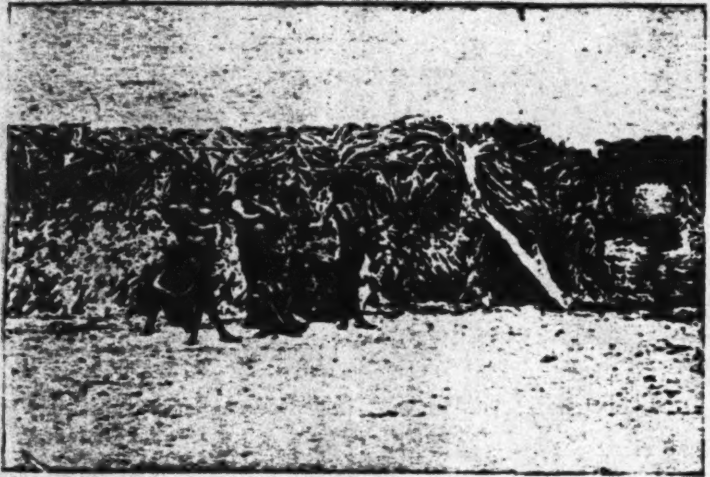

Village on the Juina River.

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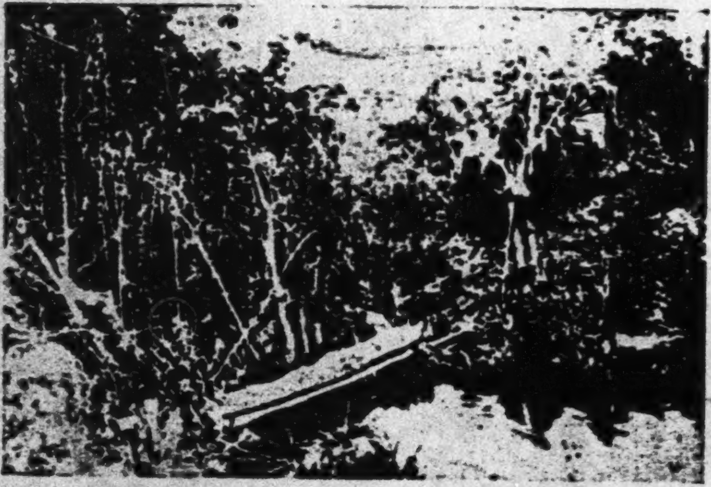

Indian footbridge--Juina River.

261 which they covered themselves, squatting in a circle beneath the leaves and singing all the while. After a long time they rose, and with the branches still tied to their backs they started dancing around their catch, which was later carved.

115 Unhappily, Gouveia was of an amazing inadequacy. He had lived among them, a captive, for six months; he had actually married an Indian woman, who had tried her best to teach him the language of her forefathers. Yet in the end he fled, bringing back only the vaguest sort of information such as the above, which nevertheless I have deemed proper to record here.

276 Of the stimulants customarily used by primitive peoples, tobacco is the most important [among the Nambicuara] aside from those alcoholic beverages which have already been mentioned.

I have stated earlier that they dry the leaves between two pieces of wood which they stick into the house thatch; when they wish to smoke, they take a leaf and crumble it between their fingers, rolling up the dust in another leaf plucked from a tree which the Cocozu call enandzú.

[238] They also keep tobacco by reducing the leaves to dust which they store in special gourds.

[Fig. 28]

[177] Prior to the arrival of the Rondon Commission, the pipe was unknown among the people of the Serra do Norte. Even today they do not like it and prefer their cigarettes, which are small and quite unlike the huge rolls of some Amazon tribes. [Fig. 30]

Their tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum) is mild and pleasantly scented. On journeys they always carry gourds filled with tobacco dust, or sticks with tobacco leaves; if they feel like smoking somewhere along the way, they stop and form a circle. They proceed as if they were about to have a meal and kindle a small fire. When the cigarettes are finished they continue on their way.

They are extremely fond of our roll tobacco, especially when made into cigarettes with pieces of newspaper...

291 The Indians of the Serra do Norte go naked. Both men and
184 women wear a straw cord around the hips. The Cocozu wear bands of embira around the wrists and upper arms, below the knees and

7:Roquette-Pinto--32A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[238]

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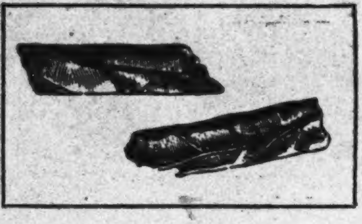

Fig. 30. Etú--Serra do Norte Indian cigarettes.

291 around the ankles. The Tagnani and Tawite wear similar bands on
184 their upper and lower limbs; theirs, however, are made of cotton, which is used occasionally by the Cocozu to manufacture articles of this sort. [Plates p. 242.] Among the Tagnani and Tawite [239], men often cover their sexual organs with the ends of the straw cord that encloses their hips. But this is not the rule. The Uaintaçu rarely wear any of those bands; and among all groups, a few of the Indians always go completely naked.

[Fig. 29]

291 The women and pubescent girls, young and old, single and married, always wear the hip cord.

[843] Some pregnant women I saw did not wear it; I believe they had freed their abdomen from this strong pressure in order to breathe more easily, or perhaps for fear that the girdle should have a pernicious influence on the foetus.

302 They always wear their hair long, hanging over the shoulders; they clip it irregularly on the forehead with a bivalve shell or a cane splinter. They liked to have us cut it with scissors.

291 They are extremely fond of the hats we wear; it seemed to me that the heat of the sun on their head distressed them greatly. They will give almost as much for a hat as for an iron axe.

301 One of the jaguar-hide helmets which are now in the [National] Museum was obtained in the village of Urutau in exchange for an old and well-worn hat of ours, in spite of the fact that those helmets are highly prized [by the Indians].

They do not normally wear hide or feather head ornaments. When they are in a festive mood, they cover themselves with crowns [diadems] that will be described later, or with jaguar-hide helmets. It is likely that they also use such ornaments for certain ceremonies, but we ascertained nothing about this.

[Fig. 32]

[240] From their ears they hang triangles of mother-of-pearl,
[304] which they extract from river shells; when the hole tears, splitting the lobe in two, they do not hesitate to bore another one.

[562] The men are much vainer than the women; they adorn themselves with feather diadems, earrings, pendants and necklaces, while the women limit themselves to a few of these.

7:Roquette-Pinto--33A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
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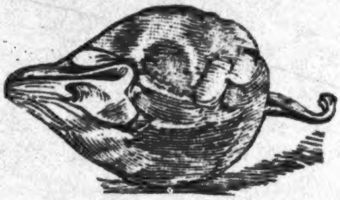

Fig. 31. Solanum fruit used by the Serra do Norte Indians.

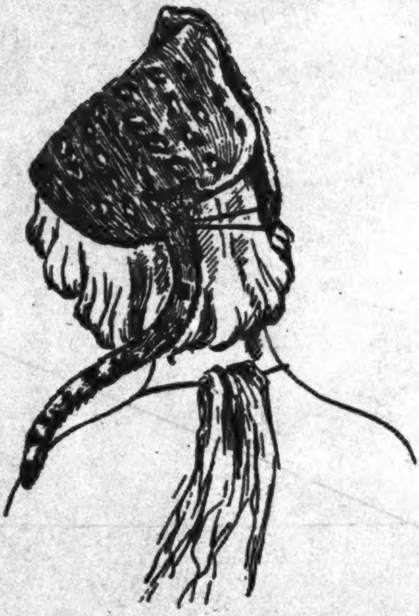

Fig. 32. Serra do Norte Indian wearing the enadjú or jabuar hide helmet.

304 Only the men have pierced upper lips and nasal septa; the women, never.

Children still at the breast did not have their lip or septum perforated; but those whose first milk molars had appeared already had both areas pierced. Hence I believe that this operation is not performed until boys have reached the age of two.

301 Not until they are five or seven do they begin to insert through the lip and nose perforations some thin and distinctive plugs nearly always made of reed stems.

Their use is widespread in the Serra do Norte; I have seldom seen Indian men without those plugs.

[Fig. 35]

The lip plug rests between the median upper incisors and protrudes aggressively upward; the septum plug is thicker and shorter. Both are cut to the appropriate size by means of fire.

[241] If the plugs fall out, the wearer immediately retrieves them and sets them back in the perforations; on those few occasions when [the Indians] removed them to show us how they were fastened, they promptly replaced them as if ashamed to be deprived of their ornaments.

As a rule they wear both simultaneously. Some Indians prefer to the modest nose plug another adorned with a macaw or curassow feather.

[554] Contrary to what used to be thought, these ornaments do not seem to constitute marks of distinction or signs of hierarchy.

We saw youths of eighteen adorned with such plumes; none of the Indians accorded them the least importance.

When they wear these feathers, they forego the lip plug.

Their predilection for black beads is remarkable; they make them from the shells of small palm nuts to form multi-looped necklaces, and when we offered them an assortment of glass beads they chose the black ones at first. Yet they ended up choosing all of them... They are insatiable.

Nevertheless, their ornaments are predominantly black in color. Black bracelets; rings made with black palm nuts which they used to wear as ear pendants and which they carry now on their fingers to

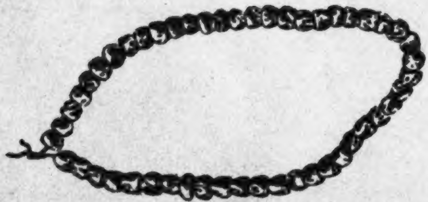

Fig. 33. Irunguinindê--necklace made with the seeds of a Sapotacea (Lucuma sp.).

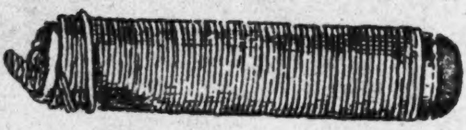

Fig. 34. Bamboo tube containing a dark powder (paricá?).

301 imitate our wedding rings; necklaces [242], several meters long, made of black beads; the feathers of black birds; the limbs of coleopters, also black; all attest to this preference.

[Fig. 45]

[237] The women make beautiful one-piece bracelets from the tail rings of the giant armadillo which they polish with wet stones. [See Fig. 65, p. 59A]

[184] The Uaintaçu Nambicuara, who come to Campos Novos by way of the Guaporé and who are much more insolent, crude, wary and suspicious, do not attempt to wear the delicate lip plugs used by their relatives.

Some of them wear a porcupine quill fastened to their lip; others, a wooden splinter or a spike from some tree.

291
562 Also characteristic of the whole Serra do Norte and Juruena Valley is a palm-fiber cape (ialaçu), which hangs down the backbone from the neck. [See Fig. 66, p. 59B.] Women do not wear it; it is another example of male foppishness.

302 Body painting with urucu constitutes part of the ornamentation for men as well as for women.

[Plates, p. 236]

[515] [243] They paint themselves on festive occasions; they do not draw lines on the skin, but smear the dye all over their face. Women, after bathing, redden their whole body in this fashion.

[Fig. 44]

[386] The Indians of the Juruena dissolve the urucu powder in pure water; the Tagnani prepare a paste or cream by mixing the dye with the fat of various animals, and perfume it quite pleasantly by way of some unknown process. (1)

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1. The Bororo use mastic resin to perfume the urucu paste. See Alfredo de Andrade, "Estudo dos materiaes corantes [A Study of Coloring Materials]," Archivos do Museu Nacional, Vol. 28, p. 183.

[opp. p. 242]

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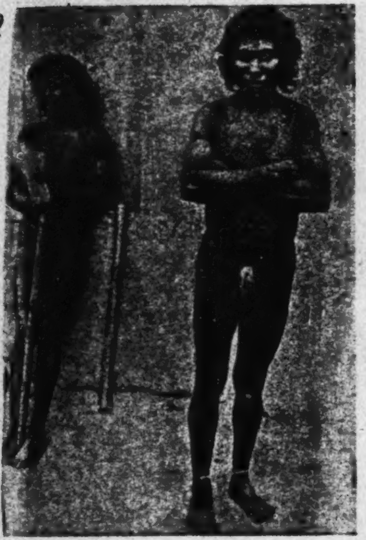
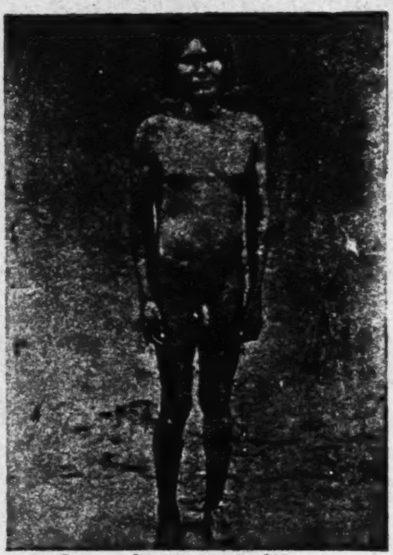


Uaintaçu Indians
Post at Campos Novos



Serra do Norte Indian

Cocozu couple

Anunze Nambicuara (Nuleke's father)

7:Roquette-Pinto--35B E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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[243]

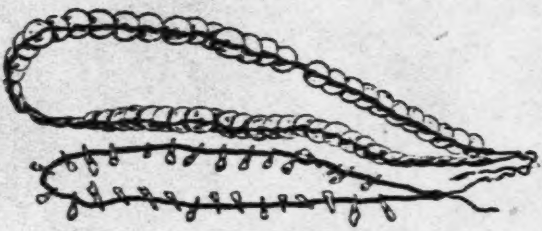

Fig. 35. Necklaces of nacre discs and monkey teeth.

302 [431] Whenever they received good presents such as axes or beads, they would go to the brook and return with their whole face set ablaze by the blood-colored paint.

[609] This practice was carried out on outsiders by the Tagnani as a mark of special esteem. We were all granted this honor in Três Buritis...

The men do not pluck their pubic or axillar hair; sometimes they even grow a sparse mustache or an even sparser beard. The women depilate themselves completely.

487 [244] The foot paths they use are narrow, similar to cow paths in pastoral regions; in certain areas, the ground is crisscrossed with them. They also make lanes in the woods by cutting branches.

To cross a small river they make a footbridge by cutting down a tree on the bank and guiding its fall in the right direction.

501 If the river is wide, they make a bundle of muriti leaves as a float and allow the current to carry them diagonally across the stream.

[Fig. 36]

481 They are not familiar with the canoe or with navigation; they are good swimmers.

They walk fast. They cover many leagues a day, always at a brisk pace--the "long stride" [marcha em extensão] of the physiologists--with the muscles taut, the body erect.

224 The hunting of big game--tapir, capybara, the Rondon Commission's horses and donkeys--is carried out in groups. For certain species they use special arrows that will be described later.

227 In fishing they do not use fishhooks, but special arrows.(1)

The Tagnani also use a Kind of fish trap.

1. According to Ehrenreich the hook is not habitually used by the Indians because of the piranha fish (Pygocentrus sp.) which are so voracious that they do not allow the fisherman to gather in his catch. Nevertheless, a hook made of thorn--the so-called pindá dos tupis [Tupian fishhook]--is found in many areas.

[Fig. 37]

7:Roquette-Pinto--36A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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[244]

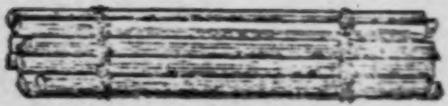

Fig. 36. Float of muriti stalks used by the Serra do Norte Indians when crossing rivers. (After a sketch by Mr. G. Kuhlmann.)

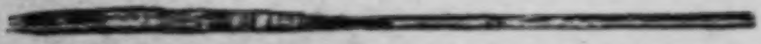

Fig. 32 Trident fishing arrow.

000 [245] The Tagnani also use a kind of fish trap.

[411] A rare type of blunt arrow is designed for the capture of birds
223 which serve as playmates to Nambicuara children.

The birds are felled by the impact and caught easily. Some
231 become used to their cruel captivity; a woodpecker (*Colaptes*
[125] *campestris*, Vieil) was occasionally imprisoned by a boy under a gourd. No sooner did the child remove the cup than the bird, instead of flying away, would perch upon him. It is true that the Indian nourishes his domesticated birds very well; he constantly feeds them from his own mouth, gently gorging them.

[Fig. 59]

To our intense surprise, as the cephalic measurements of an Anunze woman were being taken, a baby rat fell from the nape of her neck where it had apparently been living cozily, hiding in her hair as in the grass where it was born.

[125] Doves (*Chamepelius talpacoti*), young vultures (*Sarcoramphus papa*, *Catharista atrastus brasiliensis*, Bonap), monkeys and small owls are also domesticated in the Serra do Norte.

Before the days of the Rondon Commission, the Nambicuara were not familiar with the ox, the mule or the dog. They are still afraid of the ox because of its horns; they have a liking for the donkey, whose meat they find similar to that of the tapir.

[246] They are now good friends of the dog, which at first frightened them greatly; they steal a few whenever they can, and these dogs quickly take a fancy to [the Indians] because they are so well fed. In the master's eating gourd there is always room for the dog's muzzle.

155 They carry their children in a strap slung over the shoulder and across the chest, which the Cocozu make with straw and the others with cotton.

484 They take along everything they own on the shortest excursions; this is a nomadic habit surviving among a nearly sedentary people.

241 A population as large as that of the Serra do Norte would be unable to subsist exclusively on hunting and fishing. The Indians would be forced to travel far and wide in search of food; they would have been annihilated long ago, or else deprived of those characteristics which only their isolation could maintain.

It was the practice of agriculture--and we do not know where they borrowed it, if it did not arise among them spontaneously--which enabled them to continue living in the stone age until today.

By cultivating the rich lands of the Juruena Valley and the Serra do Norte and entrusting their sustenance to the soil of the virgin Amazon forests, the Nambicuara were able to continue living until now in that relatively restricted environment. This paradoxical effect of agriculture may not yet have been found elsewhere in so distinctive a form; and because they were forced to subsist by cultivating the earth, they perfected this industry while remaining in a very elementary stage of civilization. Wholly isolated, without any knowledge of white men or their domestic animals [247] such as the dog, the Indians of the Serra do Norte became excellent farmers.

Their plots are always evenly circular. Large open spaces are frequently found in the forest; they are artificial fields, old Nambicuara plots.

The Indians use fire to clear these plots after cutting down the trees, which until now they felled with stone axes. In order to fell a large tree, several axemen gather around it; and the wood, gnawed by the stone, yields sooner than expected. The strength of the axe handle is truly remarkable.

[Fig. 22]

A pointed stick is used to make holes for [planting] seeds.

Maize and manioc are the principal products of Nambicuara agriculture. Both belong to the same species cultivated among us. Maize is of the variety known as white maize or saboró; the manioc [146] has unusual nutritive value. In fact, the manioc cultivated by the Tagnani is the best I have seen, low in fiber content and very rich in starch.

[248] Surely the root does not owe its excellent qualities to the imperfect cultivation of the Indians, but to the very fertile land where it is planted.

The great ethnographic question raised by aboriginal agriculture and brought into sharp focus by Martius still remains unanswered.

Neither maize nor manioc have been found growing wild in the jungle. Either these plants came from elsewhere with the Indians,

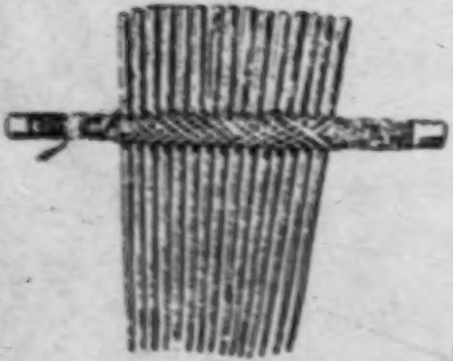

Fig. 38. Halatzu. Serra do Norte comb.

7:Roquette-Pinto--38B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 248]

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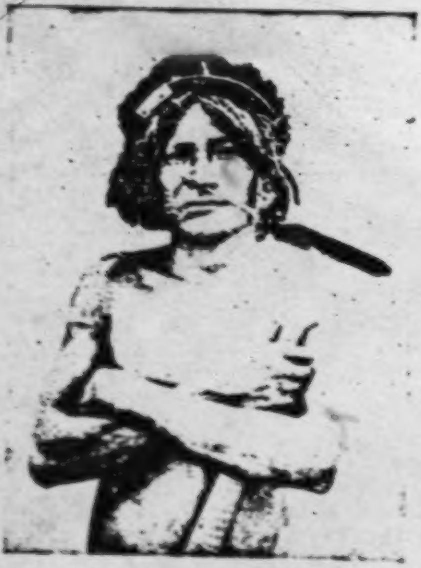

Cocozu Nambicuara

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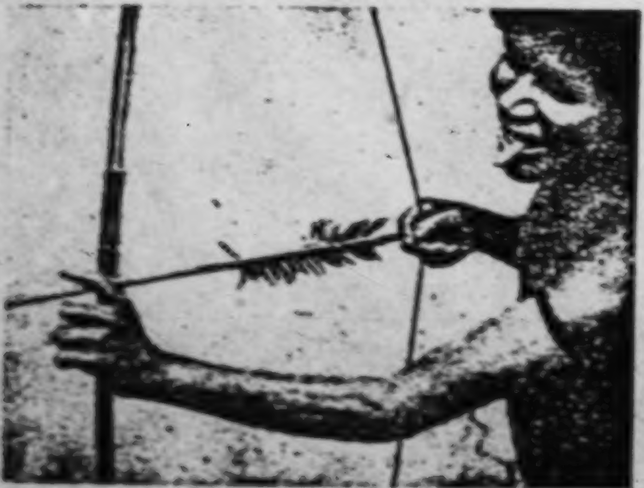

Nambicuara Indian stringing his bow.

241 or else they were derived from other species which grow wild in very different forms, disguised in various ways.

In any case, we found an isolated tribe in the stone age, subsisting on agriculture and cultivating maize (1) and manioc identical to ours.

---

1. The Nambicuara corn cobs which are to be found at the National Museum are of three kinds, each solid in color, fully kernelled, large, and of first quality. They deserve the attention of our geneticists, especially in view of the fact that maize is a heterogamous plant subject to the hazards of cross-fertilization. . . . . Nambicuara maize must be of pre-Columbian Peruvian origin . . . .

The secret of [its] selectivity must be the cultivation of each variety in an "aboriginal field" entirely isolated from the others by stretches of jungle; the term "aboriginal field" was given by Gen. Rondon to those clearings made in the jungle by the Indians for purposes of cultivation.

It would be advisable to study aboriginal agriculture thoroughly, as Hoehne already has pointed out, for the standard products obtained [by the Indians] prove that they possess keen genetic intuition. (A. J. deS.)

At the Fourth Maize Fair (Rio, 1918) many corn cobs cultivated in Rondonia were exhibited. It was concluded that Nambicuara maize should be considered autochtonous, for it displays hues entirely unknown to cultivators of the civilized world. Although the external coloring varies, the albumen of Rondonia maize is invariably very soft and white.

241 [Plates p. 254]

[249] Yet a wild form of manioc has been found (Manihot utilissimo, Pohl); if not the very species we use, at least one of the same genus. But maize?

Where on the surface of the earth does maize exist in a wild state except for the tunicated Zea mais which is sometimes considered to be the ancestor of the modern species?

What unveiling of mysteries, if this question were to be answered!

Some Tagnani who were watching the herdsman João Lucas weed a small plot in Três Buritis began to laugh at him, indicating that it would be better to root up the weeds; the hoe severed the stems but left in the roots, and the plants would grow up again. When the Nambicuara weed, they pull out everything that is not useful. Their plots are always clean.

Their tobacco is the Nicotiana that grows wild in their mountains; it may not properly be said that urucu and cotton are cultivated:
278 they are planted and utilized. Some large beans of various kinds de-
241 serve mention. [250] They are to be found in the Indians' baskets along with many other plants; but we never saw an Indian eating them or making any use of them. Pending further research, I am of the opinion that they are saved for medicinal undertakings carried out in secret by old men and women. The same may be said of the castor oil plant (Ricinus communis), which is definitely adventitious.

[Fig. 39]

415 The spools of cotton fiber that await spinning and the seeds saved for future use are kept out of the weather, dust and rain in bags made of straw or pacova leaves.

[Fig. 40]

759 It seemed to us that medicine was not exercised by any special segment of society. They all take part in the treatment of certain diseases; in serious cases, an experienced elder takes over.

752 Wounds are dressed with straw fibers [coated] with certain resins (jatobá). Burns are treated with cold water. Fractures and dislocations are reduced haphazardly.

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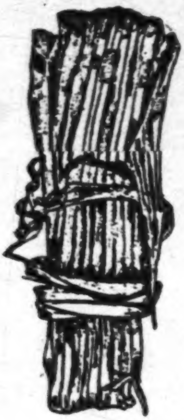

Fig. 39 .
Straw container used by the Serra do Norte Indians to store Cucurbitacea seeds (Lagenaria?)

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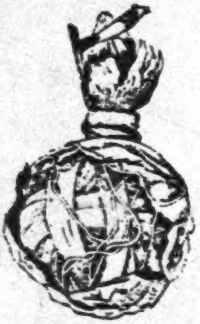

Fig. 40. Cotton thread (kondzü) wrapped
in leaves.

752 They spread saliva on báañêcedútú sores with the palm of the hand. They squeeze insect bites between two fingers.

757 Those suffering from fever go quietly into a corner, when they do not leap into running water. They eat nothing as long as the seizure lasts.

In the village on the Juina River there was an old Indian of about sixty. He was sad and prostrate and was not cheered by our gifts. He would put his hands to his head to show that it was aching. A lad who seemed [251] to be his son judging by the extreme affection he bestowed on the old man, contrary to the other Indians, kept offering him honey with water. Each time the old man would turn away. In the afternoon, his condition not having improved, he called the boy and said something to him.

The lad grasped the man's head in his hands and put his mouth against the nostrils, sucking hard. It seems that this suction which he repeated later was helpful, for the old man became more expansive.

[Fig. 41]

853 Childbirth must be easy, considering how poorly the foetus is nourished. The Indian women, when they do not have sufficient milk, take a drought of water in their mouth and put their lips onto those of the baby, transferring the liquid in a nourishing kiss.

844 I wanted to know how they cut the umbilical cord and showed several Indians who were more outgoing and intelligent--Damasceno, Nuleke, Krikriceknerá--a drawing in a book that showed a foetus with its attachments. From Damasceno's replies I understood that the mother cuts the cord with her teeth and hides the placenta under some leaves.

This piece of information obviously remains subject to revision.

531 Drawings by the Indians of the Serra do Norte, though rudimentary, reveal some interesting motifs emancipated from animal forms.

The circle, triangle and square are drawn in black on the surface of some gourds.

[532] [252] Snakes and saurians are sometimes drawn sketchily(1)

113 1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "Documentos para o estudo da psicologia dos Indios do

7:Roquette-Pinto--41A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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Fig. 41. Surgical instrument of the Serra do Norte Indians.

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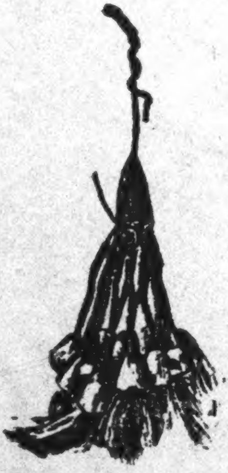

Fig. 42. Pendant of tucan feathers.

113 Brasil [Materials for the Study of
Brazilian Indian Psychology] ,"
Arquivos Brasileiros de Psiquiatria,
Neurologia e Medicina Legal (Rio
de Janeiro, 1917).

237
301 Featherwork is scarce and in fact insignificant. One of the illustrations in this book [p. (60B)] shows an interesting feather diadem patterned after an object of similar type but of admirable craftsmanship which the Indians purloined from their neighbors to the west and which is also to be found in the [National] Museum. (2) [Fig. 42]

2. Semicircular straw head ornaments are to be found mainly in the state of Amazonas as well as among the Huari of the Guaporé River, who resemble the Nambicuara in their primitive axes, their circular houses, etc. (Cf. Nordenskjöld, "The Ethnography of South America Seen from Mojos in Bolivia." [Engl.]).

The use of cotton has given an extraordinary boost to the development of featherwork among the Tupian Indians, as I demonstrated with the gorgeous ornaments made by the Urubu Indians (Gurupi River). The Nambicuara are familiar with cotton, but have not even developed featherwork based on plaiting or netting; this seems to attest to a tradition poor in such textile techniques. The Guayaki, who are Tupian Indians of rudimentary culture, according to Vellard, have neither featherwork nor agriculture. (R. L.)

535 We were able to observe two types of dances: a war dance which we recorded in a film shown at the National Library [of Rio de Janeiro] on March 15, 1913, and in which Indians of the Cocozu,

535 Anunze and Uintaçu tribes participated; and a festive dance in which we took part, executed in our honor at Três Buritis by the Tagnani and Tawite.

The war dance filmed in Campos Novos was later also [253] performed by the Tagnani in Três Buritis.

Armed with bows and arrows, the warriors form a line some 15 meters from a piece of wood which represents the enemy, singing in two-part time and marking the beat on the ground with their feet. [Fig. 25]

Two Indians leave the line, arrows ready and bows half strung, and walk as if cautiously hiding among shrubs in the bush. After a wide detour they come near the "enemy" and hurl their weapons at him.

This is the signal to attack; the singing ceases and a rain of arrows falls on the "unfortunate victim"...

41
224
726 Then they advance upon him and give him a thorough drubbing with their bows or with sticks. Incidentally, this is always the function of the arrow--to immobilize the enemy or game and permit the attacker to come close and finish his work with blows. In the hunt or in combat, attack is always made from ambush. This is because the aim of the Indians at a distance [Fig. 27] is not as sure as generally supposed. The Nambicuara are not especially good archers. They certainly cannot draw the bow with their feet like the Bororo. Some can shoot well in height. They use no shield whatever either in the hunt or in war. After the attack they try to recover their projectiles. An arrow represents a certain amount of labor and must not be squandered...

They hold a number of arrows in their left hand and shoot them one after the other with incredible rapidity.

535 Men, women and girls participated in the festive dance.

A large circle was formed to the sound of an endless chant. The women stood on the men's left; pair after pair were joined until the circle was closed. [254] Each man placed his hand on the shoulder of the woman next to him. Within the circle, three girls of approximately the same age accompanied them in a close line, eyes lowered, hands crossed upon the chest. The girl in the center acted as a hub for this choreographic formation... [Fig. 43]

535

[254]

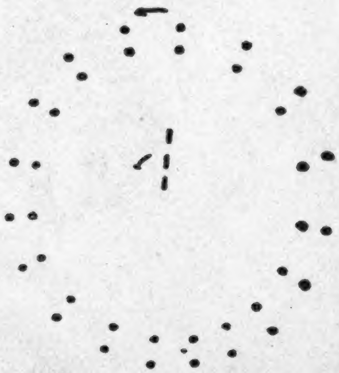

Fig. 43. (Astrolatrous?)
Tagnani dance (diagram).

7:Roquette-Pinto--43B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 254]

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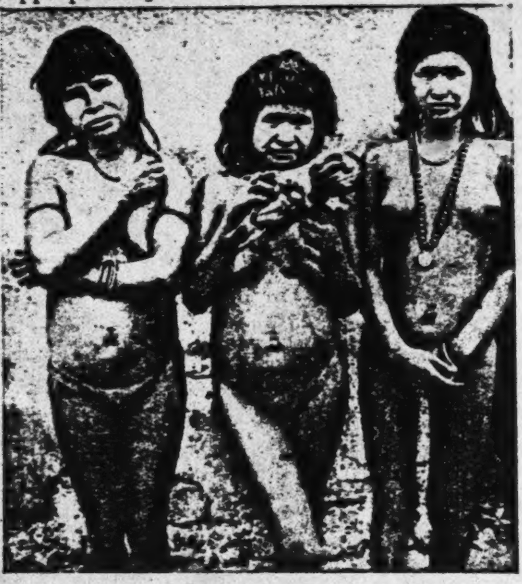
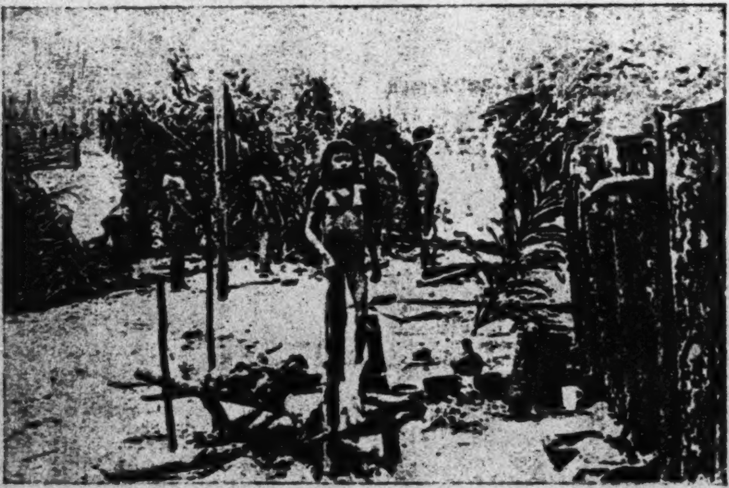


Anunze women.



Tawite camp at Tres Buritis.

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnanî-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[821] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2 , sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 [611] The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [à vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

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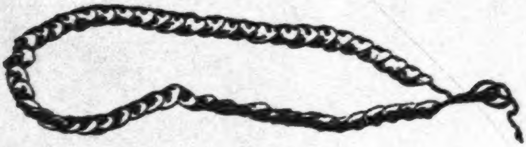

Fig. 44 — Shell necklace.

7:Roquette-Pinto--45 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

854 Children are treated with great affection and refused nothing. They are rarely punished. Many an Indian, already elderly would walk for leagues [256] with a child on his back to come to us and give the little one some of the presents we were distributing.

622 They have no clearly defined chiefs. Some men the muleteers call chiefs are merely individuals of some influence frequently heeded by the others.

578 One day, in Campos Novos, we were visited by the Cocozu
622 and Anunze. Several young men of both groups spent the night there:
Nuleke, Krikricekneră (Manduca), Paixão, Preguiça [Port. "sloth],
Damasceno, and the famous Cavagnac, supposed chief of the Urutau
village, a scoundrel who used to ambush the muleteers on the Line
and take their packs.

On the following day many Uaintaçu came; they were bold, rough, and quite unpleasant people.

The others, when they saw the Ujantaçu approaching, gave signs of agitation. Finally the Uaintaçu arrived, very much excited by the presence of our guests. An endless discussion ensued among the three groups. They all talked and gesticulated in angry fashion, with gleaming eyes, ready to attack each other. Fearing a conflict which would be disastrous on every count, we intervened by distributing cigarettes, matches, axes, etc., in order to distract them. They calmed down. But some of the Cocozu and Uaintaçu boys continued to argue and were gradually surrounded by the others who listened attentively. Two on one side would speak; two from the other side would reply. The two Indians who talked, Damasceno and Cavagnac, were more intelligent, clever and bold. There was nothing to indicate that they were true chiefs, recognized as such on every occasion. They were temporary chiefs.

622 Among the Tagnani and Tawite, on the other hand, there are clearly defined secular chiefs. One of them stood out because he wore no ornaments whatever [257]. He actually commanded and was obeyed by all. He had three wives.

562 The status of the Nambicuara woman is not so degraded as that
of other Brazilian Indian women. She works hard, it is true. She
[562] gathers fruit, grates manioc, handles the mortar and pestle, erects the
hunting shelters, spins cotton, carries the family belongings, cares for
the children, takes part in cultivating the plot; but usually she is

562 treated with great affection. The men are jealous of their wives, and [837] the women take pride in being faithful. In this respect they are quite unlike their neighbors, the Paressi women...

832 302 The couples are always petting each other, and no caress seems sweeter and more tender to the lover than the woman's fingers running through his hair. This is easy to understand, for the Nambicuara head swarms with vermin...

[Fig. 38]

585 According to reports of the soldier Gouveia, marriage is a simple ceremony. The man asks the father of his beloved for consent to the union. If the father agrees, he gives the bridegroom a bow and a sheaf of arrows, telling him that with these weapons he must support the family he is about to form. That is all.

851 201 To show that a boy is the son of a certain man, they use in their innocence an expressive gesture: they join the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in the shape of a ring, around the right extended index finger. Then they tap the child and father on the shoulder, saying "Uétũ!" (son).

888 They show great respect for old people and spare them all possible effort. When we returned from the village on the Urutau to the post on the Juina, they had us carry [258] on the bow of our saddles the baskets of two old men from the group that accompanied us in search of gifts. The young men and the women all carried their own atiçũ and did not ask for help.

771 As to their religion, we know only that it is fetishistic. We know nothing of its cult or system, and even less of its dogma. [Fig. 33]

821 [771] The northern groups seem to be tending toward astrolatry. Once when I had threatened the moon and the stars with an arrow, poised ready on a strung bow, several Tagnani rose abruptly and halted my gesture, speaking very excitedly, scolding me, and taking the weapon away from me as if it were a sacrilege.

The Cocozu and Anunze threaten the storm with their weapons, waving their arms in all directions and cursing the rain in loud yells.

Sometimes, instead, the women climb on a termite nest where they let out puffs of smoke and throw ashes into the air to frighten the storm.

764 We do not know anything as yet about their funeral rites. It has been ascertained, however, that they do not cremate their dead and do not eat them. They bury them directly [259] in the ground--the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

[258]

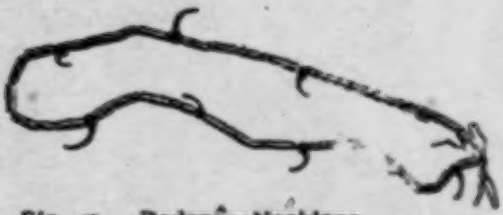

Fig. 45 . Dodezê--Necklace
with limbs of coleoptera.

7:Roquette-Pinto--46B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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[259]

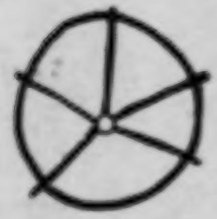

Fig. 46 . Ornamental
motif of the Serra do
Norte Indians.

[illegible] the Cocozu in circular pits, the Tagnani in elongated graves.

802 The concept of number is well under way among the Indians of the Serra do Norte. In their expressive manner, they count on their fingers and say "Dêra" for each unit.

802
201 When they have used up the fingers of both hands, if the number demands it, they lift a foot, repeating the same word, and then go on to the other foot.

A Tagnani chief who wanted to say that his people were already near and were bringing us manioc, maize, etc., in many baskets, having counted on all his fingers and toes, tapped the hands and feet of others present, repeating all the while, "Dêra, dêra, dêra" (this, this, this).

805 To count the days, either past or future, which stand between them and a certain place, they raise their right hand to the face, rest their head on the palm, close their eyes, and produce a loud snore for every night to be counted.

822 The concepts of shape and area are also defined among them. The Cocozu call a circle irengçú, a triangle nendzu. Perhaps these words are merely names of animals or objects extended to cover these figures, which they trace accurately.

[Fig. 46]

821 They distinguish east and west. They indicate the approximate time of day by pointing out the place where the sun will stand on the horizon [260] at that particular hour. They do not seem to distinguish among constellations; they always gave the same name to any star we pointed out to them. The Tagnani indiscriminately named tangrê the Belt in the Orion constellation which they drew on the ground, as well as the largest stars in this exceptionally beautiful cluster (Rigel, Betelgeuse and Belatrix). The total eclipse of the sun which was clearly noticeable in the Serra do Norte on October 10, 1912, made no impression whatever on the Nambicuara.

[illegible] As to the biological concepts they may perchance have gathered, we cannot yet speak about them. What we were able to ascertain did not satisfy us.

[Fig. 47]

197 The Indians of the Serra do Norte speak distinct but related dialects which are mutually intelligible.

7:Roquette-Pinto--47A E-4, S (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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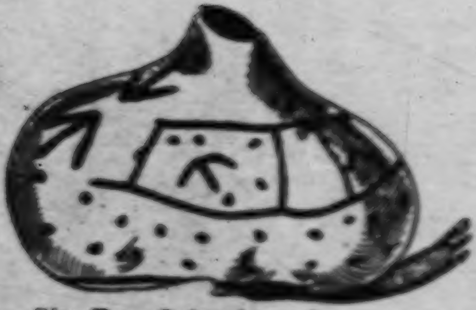

Fig. 47. Painted gourd.

7 Roquette-Pinto--478 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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495
285

[opp. p. 280]

Juina River Indians

Juina River Indian

115 We managed to obtain four different word lists: Cocozu,
129 Anunze, Tagnani and Tawite. The two lengthier ones--Anunze and Cocozu--were obtained with as much exactitude and certainty as possible (and, I believe, as much as necessary) thanks to Nulcke and Krikriokinerá. These two Indians had been devoted friends of Lt. [Plates p. 261.] Pyrineus de Souza since the days when he had managed the post at Campos Novos.

[Fig. 48]

Nulcke is so fond of Lt. Pyrineus that when we returned in 1912 he did not hesitate to cross the borders of his territory, leaving the land none of his people had abandoned in centuries, to follow the muleteers to Tapirapuã in search of his friend.

He was the first to place himself trustfully into Brazilian hands.

These two Indians lived at Campos Novos like adopted children of the household. At night they both slept under Pyrineus' hammock. They already spoke a few words of our language.

[Fig. 49]

The Indian Damasceno (Urinenoá), already mentioned above, was of great help with the Cocozu language. He was the most intelligent boy we could find. One Tagnani shared this honor, and we were sorry to part with him. He understood the slightest gesture, and carried out to perfection our every request. It was he who consented to simulate an arrow attack which I asked for by means of signs and which is now recorded on a film belonging to the [National] Museum and shown at the National Library in 1913.

[262] Each word on the lists was verified more than once in the presence of the object or phenomenon it describes.

We were more interested in the quality than in the quantity of words.

This does not mean that we believe no corrections are possible; it is sufficient to compare two lexicons compiled by capable persons among the same Indians, on separate occasions, to see how differently certain terms may be rendered.

199 The Nambicuara language contains the following vowels: a, ê, i, ô, o, u, ü, with the same values as they would have in Portuguese; the sound of ü is intermediate between German ü and French ou.

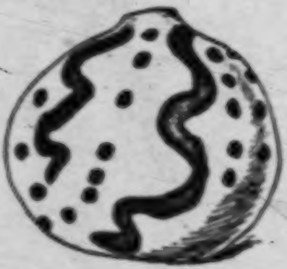

Fig. 48. Designs of the
Serra do Norte Indians.

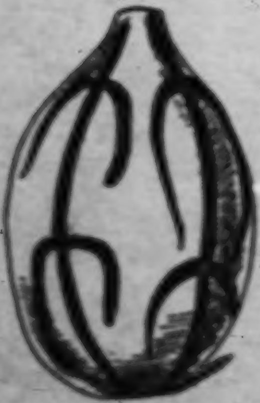

Fig. 48. Designs of the Serra do Norte
Indians.

7; Roquette-Pinto--49 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

194 The consonants are b, c, d, g, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, t, z; h is always strongly aspirated, like German ch.

F, j, v, and x are lacking.

The following consonant clusters are characteristic: an, kr, tch, dn, gn, tg, tn, kd, kz, kt, nt, nz, tz, td, nç, tç, tzû, gç, gd, ndz, nk

193 Those words designating parts of the human body have the same root in all Nambicuara dialects, slightly modified in one case or another: uá or toá.

[263]

	Cocozu	Tagnani	Tawite	Anunze
Arm	Oá-nukicú	Uá-nokrí	Toá-rabatndê	Uá-nuḳizê
Mouth	Toá-iuçú	Uá-iurí	Tá-iuirí	Uá-iuarê
Tongue	Toáio-herú	Uái-hênde͡	Táiu-hendú	Uạile-herú

Here the particle toa (uá, oá) has the same possessive value as the nu particle of Arawakan languages; it is found only in words pertaining to parts of the human body. (1)

[13]

[Fig. 50]

Nearly all Cocozu words end in zu or çu, used interchangeably. Anunze words often end in zê. But this last sound, to be pronounced properly, must be approximated to gê. (2) In the Tawite dialect and in the several Tagnani dialects, endings in di, tê, rê, and ri (soft r) /are common.

197
193 One particle found rather frequently in these dialects deserves special mention, owing to its importance for the [264] evaluation of

---

1. See E. Roquette-Pinto, "The Indians of Serra do Norte," [Engl.] Proceedings of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress (Washington, 1917).

2. This may be a linguistic trait of Ge parentage. (H. A. T.)

415
531

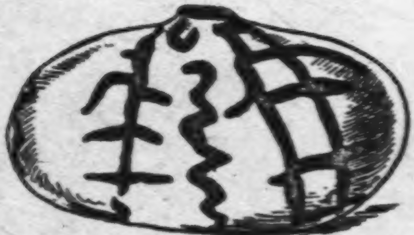

Fig. 50. Designs of the Serra do Norte Indians.

194 relationships with other American languages. This is the gui or gue
193 particle:

Kaiguetazú -- flute (Cocozu)
Hauguidê -- smooth arrow (Tagnani)
Toáiguedokrê -- hand (Tawite)
Uáneguêtu -- head (Anunze)

124 Although various phonetic systems are in existence for the transcription of primitive languages (Kosmos Alphabet, Schmidt's Alphabet, etc.) (1), I deemed it preferable to use the letters of the Latin alphabet in conjunction with a few special signs such as the umlaut, which are within the grasp of any reader.

[Fig. 51]

194
197 If Martius' linguistic scheme were still accepted, the Nambicuara tongue would be included among the languages of the "Guck" or "Koko" group. This family, however, was not maintained in view of its great diversity; and now its former members are [considered] to belong to the Ge-Botocudo and Nu-Arawakan groups.

The languages of the Nu-Arawakan family, however, own certain significant characteristics which are not encountered among the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

For instance, the personal possessive particle nu, one of the most valuable traits in the identification of these languages, is never found among the Nambicuara.

[265] The word used to designate water, one of the best elements for purposes of linguistic comparison because of its constancy throughout the Nu-Arawakan dialects in spite of other differences (onê, uní), has no equivalent in the Serra do Norte.

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1. Fa. W. Schmidt (*Anthropos*, 1907) describes in detail the historical evolution of phonetics and the various systems which have been suggested. In the same paper he presents his own method, which has been granted wide acceptance.

[264]

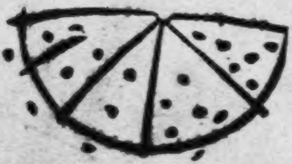


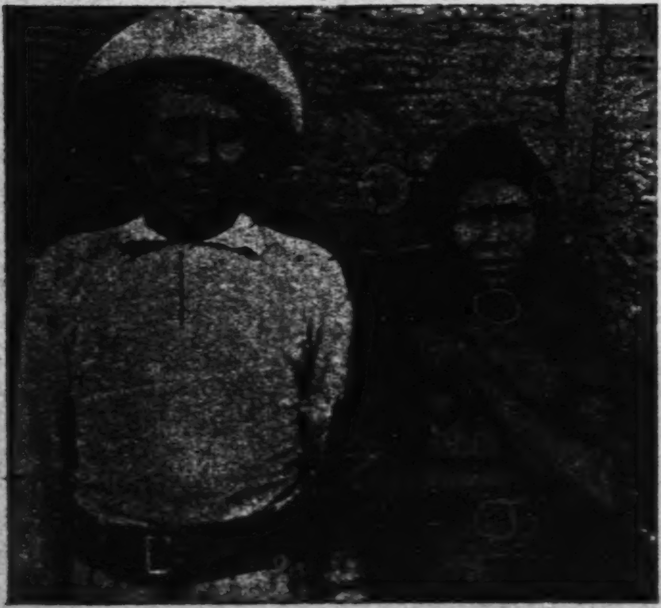
Fig. 51. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--50B E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 264]

*516
142

Serra do Norte Indians at the Telegraph Station of Utiariti.



Paressi and Nambicuara at the Utiariti Station.

194
197 These traits alone would be sufficient to set the Nambicuara language apart from the Nu-Arawakan dialects.

But beyond this, it is easy to verify the dissimilarity between the lexicons [of these two groups]. Compare the Paressi vocabulary, an excellent representative of the Nu-Arawakan family, with the word lists of the Serra do Norte Indians. They are completely different.

We would search in vain through South America for a language possessing any deep affinities with the Nambicuara dialects.

[Fig. 52]

It is true, however, that the language of the Xingu River Suya bears a certain resemblance to the dialects of the Serra do Norte. The possessive particle *woa* of the Suya, which is clearly found among the Nambicuara in the form of either *ua* or *toa*, constitutes the best argument in favor of this relationship.

In view of this characteristic, therefore--and it is a significant one for it has served as a basis for the modern classification of our tribes--[266] wherever the Suya are placed the Nambicuara should also be included. (1)

[113]

1. In "Beitrage zur Ethnographie des Araguaya-Xingú Gebietes [Contribution to the Ethnography of the Araguaia-Xingo District]," *Proceedings of the XXI International Congress of Americanists* (Göteborg, 1924), Fritz Krause confirmed this linguistic affinity and attempted to make it even closer by citing additional words akin not only to Caraja but also to Ge dialects.

As to cultural aspects, it becomes obvious, especially in view of Nordenskjöld's comparative ethnographic studies, that the Nambicuara as well as the Caraja have been influenced by sub-Andean cultures.

The Caraja show signs of being partially subjected to this influence at the time when

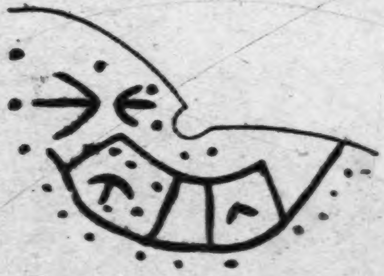


Fig. 52 . Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

194
197

it reached the Chaco region, where they would thus appear to have lived at an earlier time. (See Krause, *op. cit.*)

On the other hand, as already pointed out elsewhere, the Nambicuara seem to have received this cultural influx by way of a different route--probably through the other channel of sub-Andean cultural expansion described by Nordenskjöld, which ran from northeastern Bolivia down the Amazon and La Plata watersheds. (Nordenskjöld, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1).

(H. A. T.)

This is perhaps where the problem becomes most difficult: although Ehrenreich places the Xingo Indians alongside the Ge, other experts on South American linguistics believe, perhaps rightly, that they should be included with the Caraja in Chamberlain's "Carajan" group. (2)

2. Krickeberg, Rivet, and other experts still place the Suya among the Ge.

[Fig. 53]

Yet it is also inevitable to recognize in the Nambicuara language certain special characteristics of the Kiriri tongue. These traits are exclusively phonic, and [thus much less significant than if they were lexical or morphological.

[267] They merely consist of the tç, tz and kr sounds, which are accepted as peculiar to the Kiriri language (Baptista Caetano).

In the absence of well translated texts, it is impossible to delve more deeply into the study of these dialects. Even the relationships suggested above will be subject to revision when more complete linguistic materials become available.

411 As regards the [National] Museum collection, the following data are worthy of note.

7:Roquette-Pinto--52A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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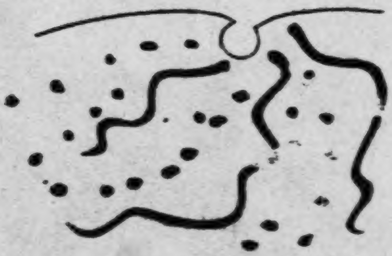

Fig. 53. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

411 The bows of the Serra do Norte Indians (*hukiçu*) are made of
171 *ipê* (1) wood and are very long, measuring from 1. 70 to two meters;

[824]

1. [In this region, the term covers] trees of the Tecoma and Jacaranda genuses, Bignonia family. The forest variety is *J. copaia*, D. Don; the field varieties comprise the yellow type (*T. ochracea*, Mart.) and the purple or black kind (*T. ipê*, Mart.). (A. J. de S.)

the section is semi-circular. Of all Brazilian tribes, only the Catukina of the Purus River coil the twine around the weapon in a similar way. The cross-section of the Catukina bow, however, is quadrangular.

[Fig. 54]

We made an experiment to determine the approximate strength required to lend a bow the necessary power.

The bow we used measured 2. 38 [sic] meters in length by 0. 047 meter in its greatest width; its *tucum* cord [268] had a diameter of 0. 002 meter. To set in this bow a fifty-centimeter arrow required 66 kilograms of dynamometric traction.

The [Serra do Norte] Indians use the Mediterranean release (Morse's fourth method): bow vertical, arrow resting against the left edge of the bow and held at the base between the index and middle fingers of the right hand.

In the Americas, this method is peculiar to the Eskimo; the "Redskins" employed another. In Brazil, no [other] tribe uses it as far as I have been able to ascertain; [269] for the most part, our Indians use the third method outlined by Morse.

[269] [Brazilian bows fall into the following categories listed by Hermann Meyer: 1) Peruvian; 2) Northern Brazilian; (1) 3) Guiana;

1. Semi-circular cross-section; dark red, smooth wood of a leguminous tree.

411
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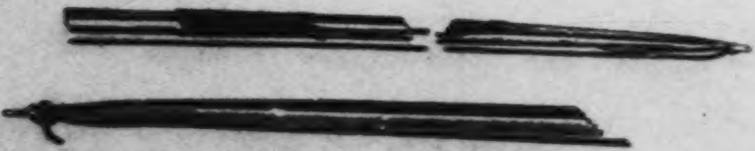


Fig. 54. Serra do Norte bow and its cross section.

LINGUISTIC COMPARISONS

[268-269]

	NAMBICUARA								
	Cocuzu	Anunze	Tagnani	Tawite	Chicriaba (Martius)	Cherente (Martius)	Camacan (Martius)	Caraja (Ehren-reich)	Suya (K. von den Steinen)
Genitalia	--	--	--	Taguiri	D'agri	--	--	--	--
Chest [breast]	Toanunkizú	--	--	Tanakaindê	--	Dajukudá	--	--	--
Snake	Tiç̣ú	--	--	--	--	--	Ti	--	--
Maize	--	--	Ket	--	--	--	Kechu	--	--
Leg	Toaç̣uç̣ú	Uaç̣uzê	Uaduri	Talahendê	--	--	Guang-gestú	--	--
Mouth	Toaiuç̣ú	Uaiuarê	Uaiuri	--	Daidana Datoha	Dageau	--	Waru	Wanakoni
Tooth	Toaiuiç̣ú	--	Diürú	Taiú-iri	--	--	Aenküh-tciokah	Wa-idzu	Woatoá
Tree	Iç̣ú	--	--	--	--	--	--	Iô	--
Tongue	Toaio-herú	Uauizê	Uaihendê	Taiú-hendü	--	--	--	--	Wanuotó

7;Roquette-Pinto--54 E-4, 5 (no date)1939 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

H

[268]

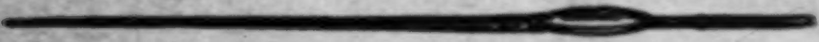


Fig. 55 . Aniaçá--Arrow with smooth cylindrical tip.

[270]

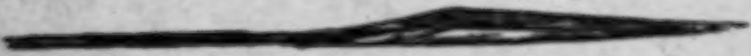


Fig. 56 . Uacliçá--Bamboo-tipped arrow.

[271]

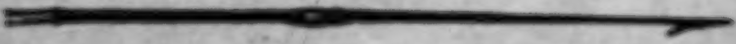


Fig. 57 . Ain-ainçá--Serra do Norte arrow.

411 4) Chaco; 5) Eastern Brasilian.]

171 Nambicuara bows must be placed in the second group on account of their cross-section, which is indeed quite similar to that of Mundurucu bows. Their twine is coiled in the manner of Meyer's Perutypus group.

[Plates p. 248]

[271] [Fig. 58] Meyer classifies Brasilian arrows into seven groups, now insufficient because other types have since been found, but which nevertheless cover the principal characteristics of our arrows. His classification is based on the feathering of the shaft. [1) Eastern Brasilian or Tupian-Ge; 2) Guiana; 3) Xingu; 4) Araca; 5) Maue; 6) Peruvian with fibers; 7) Peruvian with resin, where Nambicuara arrows belong.] This last group is further divided in two: a northern division covering the Amazon Valley, and a southern division covering the Chaco region. The feathers are slit lengthwise, their stem scraped until only the outer layer remains; [272] they are tied spirally to the shaft by means of twine and black resin.

[Fig. 55]

411 Our collection includes war, hunting and fishing arrows. It must be noted, however, that these distinctions are not always maintained; when necessary, the Indians use all three types interchangeably.

Aniĉé: The tip is of red wood, cylindrical, smooth; used to hunt monkeys.

[Fig. 56]

Uaeliçê: The tip is sharp, made of taquaruçu bamboo (Merostachys sp.); used in war and to hunt large game--capybara, tapir, jaguar. . . . .

Aleuinçê: The tip is smooth, with a barb at the end.

[Fig. 57]

411 [273] Arukinkiançê: A unique type, armed with a series of
278 barbs secured with twine and pitch. It is coated with a black substance which the Indians believe to be poisonous; for this reason, they protect the tip with a bamboo sheath. It is a war weapon. The "poison" of Nambicuara arrows is harmless. . . (1)

1. [Alvaro Osorio de Almeida notes here that he carried out an

4ll

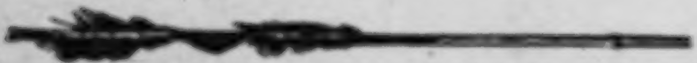


Fig. 38. Feathering on Serra do Norte arrow.

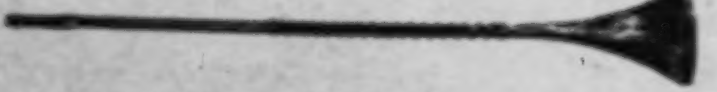


Fig. 39. Aitraçá--Bird arrow.

411
278

experiment with the resinous, supposedly poisonous substance found on the tip of one of these arrows. He injected a concentrated solution of it into frogs and guinea pigs, and the only resulting symptoms were muscular twitchings, unsteady gait, and some salivation.]

[Fig. 60]

411 Alaraçá: The tip is blunt; it is used to stun birds that are to be caught alive or free from blood, which stains the feathers. [See fig. ... (59), p.55A] Often a smooth tip wrapped in a straw pellet is used for the same purpose.

[227] [274] Some unique fishing arrows have a double, triple or quadruple tip and a bone barb. [See fig. ... (37), p. 36B.] Some have feathers at the base, others do not. . . . .

All Serra do Norte arrows have shafts made of thin bamboo. The various parts of the weapon are secured with strips of the strong [224] imbé liana (Philodendron imbe, Mart.).

[Fig. 61] The clubs are extremely crude weapons of attack and defense, mere portions of thick branches cut when the occasion demands it.

[324] [275] The axes of chipped stone are uniform in type. They are wedge-shaped, made of diorite, and they average two kilograms in weight. The handle is a piece of creeper stem, perhaps from a Bauhinia. The pitch and cord used to fasten the stone make the tool surprisingly strong. . . . .

381
[324] The pitch is made of mastic resin, jatai (Hymenea stigonocarpa or H. stilbocarpa), and wax, as well as other unknown substances. It is placed in pots and subjected to the action of fire, then kept in pellets fastened to embira strips or in loaves wrapped in leaves. Both the arrow "poison" and the axe pitch are called by the name of duhutaarú, which means "wax."

[Fig. 62]

7 Roquette-Pinto--56A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

41
273

[273]

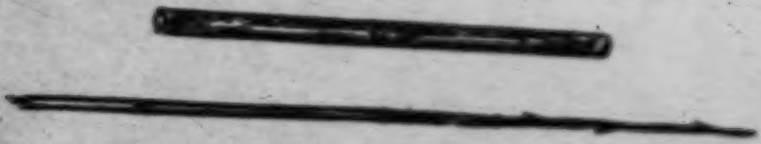


Fig. 60. Poisoned arrow (amkiritanca) with protective sheath.

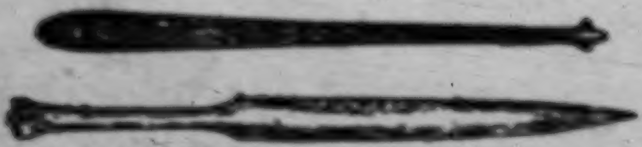


Fig. [illegible]. Clubs found among the Serra do Norte Indians.

?Requena-Pimo--56C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1812)

415
331

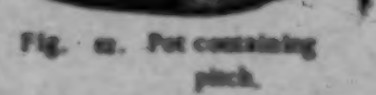


Fig. m. Pot containing
pitch.

226 *Tephrosia toxicaria* is a poisonous legume, a kind of *tingui*
[illegible] [*Lupinus cascavella*] used in fishing.

278 They are not familiar with the fishhook, and use [276: full page of figures] [277] a sort of fish trap made with bamboo or with the stem of the *tiara* liana (*Desmoncus sp.*).

262 The following foodstuffs are represented in the collection.

--*Guaiacá*: white maize.

--*Urinodina*: manioc dough, which under microscopic examination proved to be very rich in starch grains. The root, once grated,
252 [965] is pressed [by wringing] with a straw cord, the *çaara*. (1) The grater is of the type used by the Xingu Indians (Suya, etc.). It consists of a board with about two [twenty?] rows of small sticks.

[Fig. 17]

262 --The larvae of a butterfly, which they eat alive.

--*Katamaré*: anthill clay, which they also eat.

. . . .

[626] --A mushroom, *orelha de pau* (*Polyporus sp.*), which is eaten, and beans (*Phaseolus sp.*) of unusual aspect were also found in one village. [278] The smoked [*moqueada*] head of a great anteater was
[581] found in a basket by Miranda Ribeiro during the 1909 expedition.

415 Mortars (*mudúa*) are hollowed out by means of fire and used to
253 pound meat and other foods.

---

1. [Heloisa Alberto Torres notes that the cylindrical tube used to press manioc by some Amazonian tribes must have spread from the Guianas to the valley of the Amazon. Métraux considers the woven band used for the same purpose and found on the periphery of the tube territory a more primitive form. The simple straw cord of the Nambicuara would thus constitute an even more primitive variant.]

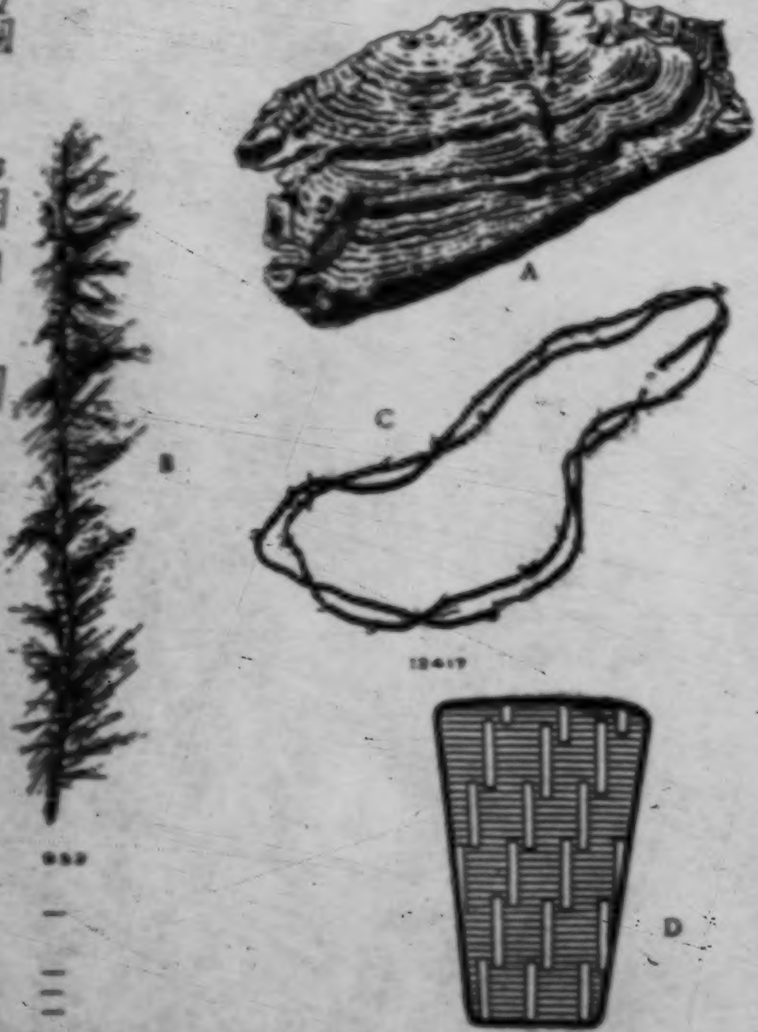
[262
824]

[283
825]

[illegible]

[301]

[531]



A. Azeai mushroom (Poliporus sp.) eaten by the Serra do Norte Indians.

B. Cord of monkey hair (Pithecia satanas).

C. Necklace made with minute shreds of feather stems.

D. Ornamental motif of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--58 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

372 They make fire with mastic resin sticks, the tips of which are wrapped in straw to protect them from the rain.

[Fig. 63]

241
415 Their plots are worked with pointed sticks. The seeds of urucu, gourd plants (Lagenaria) and cotton are kept in leaf containers.

275
520 Medicinal fruit (Solanum mammosum) is also saved, as well as roots, leaves, etc.

[Fig. 31]

356 The collection contains two samples of dyes: a paste of urucu and fat, sweetly scented, which the women use to paint their body after the bath (hudubukaidi); and a variety of red ocher. [278]

248 Cotton (1) is represented by seeds (rim de boi variety) in leaf
[283
256] containers; cotton thread (hondzú) from a spindle (gdaretatú); skeins
[255] of spun cotton; cotton fabric (sarugulal--strap used to carry children).

[281] The spindle is made of a palm splinter imbedded in a round potsherd.

[Fig. 64]

415
924 Kaiçã are fruits of the Lagenaria genus used as containers and storage vessels. Some hold crudely chopped tobacco and are stoppled with a corn cob, a method frequently used by the frontiersmen.
[See fig. ...(28) p. 308.]

---

[17] 1. According to the studies of Fa. Schmidt and Nordenskjöld (concerning hammocks), cotton reached Brazil from the Andes and was cultivated mostly by the Tupian Indians in the midst of the Amazon jungle. It is used less extensively among the Arawakan Indians. This distribution, due in part to the needs of the plant, explains its presence among the Nambicuara, who are located at the extreme west of the plateau. (R. L.)

[278]

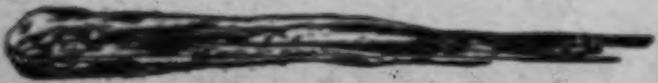


Fig. ss. Fire sticks protected against the rain.

7:Roquette-Pinto--588 E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

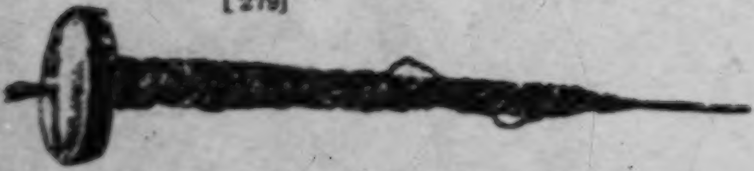


Fig. 84. Gdaretatú--Serra do Norte spindle.

7:Roquette-Pinto--59 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301 [280] [One necklace not mentioned earlier] is made with the
[329] seeds of a Cyperacea (tanieikerê) which the Suya of the Xingu River
also use. . . . .

[325 Oradaikruzê is a beautiful bracelet made with the tail rings of
237] the giant armadillo (Dasypus gigas). It looks like ivory. Other brace-
[624] lets are made from the nuts of the babassu and pindova (Orbignya speciosa)
palms.

[Fig. 65]

Bands for the upper arm are made of cotton and fastened similarly to those of the Paressi.

291 The ialaçu is a simple fiber cape, widely used, which fastens to the neck and hangs down the back. There is also a black feather cape in the collection.

301 [281] The stem of the unetizú (nose plume) is made of thin bamboo or the stalk of a tough grass (Andropogon).

. . . . The helmets of puma or jaguar hide are used in that region only by the Nambicuara and by the Cayabi of the Paratininga.

[Fig. 66]

285 Max Schmidt broadly classified Brazilian Indian plaiting into Palmblattflechterei (palm-leaf plaiting) and Doppelfadengeflechte (double-strand plaiting). But he also admitted the existence of a third type, where two elements running in different directions are crossed by a third. This type occurs frequently on the Xingu River . . . and is found in Nambicuara baskets (atiçú).

[282: page of figures]

[283] As plaiting material the Nambicuara use titara liana and sometimes bamboo.

[293] . . . . Nambicuara fans, made with bacaba leaves, ... are of pentagonal shape . . . .

539 A kind of nose flute made of gourd discs (hait-teataçú) seems
[17] to have been borrowed from the Paressi.

[Fig. 67]

The double flutes were borrowed from the Tapajoz tribes (Mundurucu, Maue, etc.). [See fig. ...(70, p.]

7:Roquette-Pinto--59A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

301
237

[280]

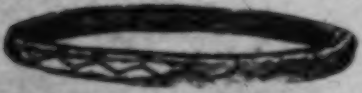


Fig. 68. Oradaikruzê--Serra do Norte bracelet.

[28r]

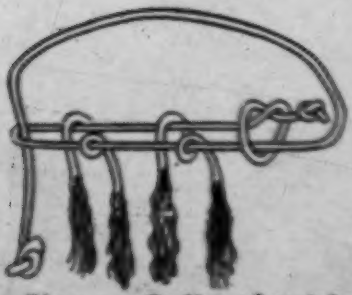
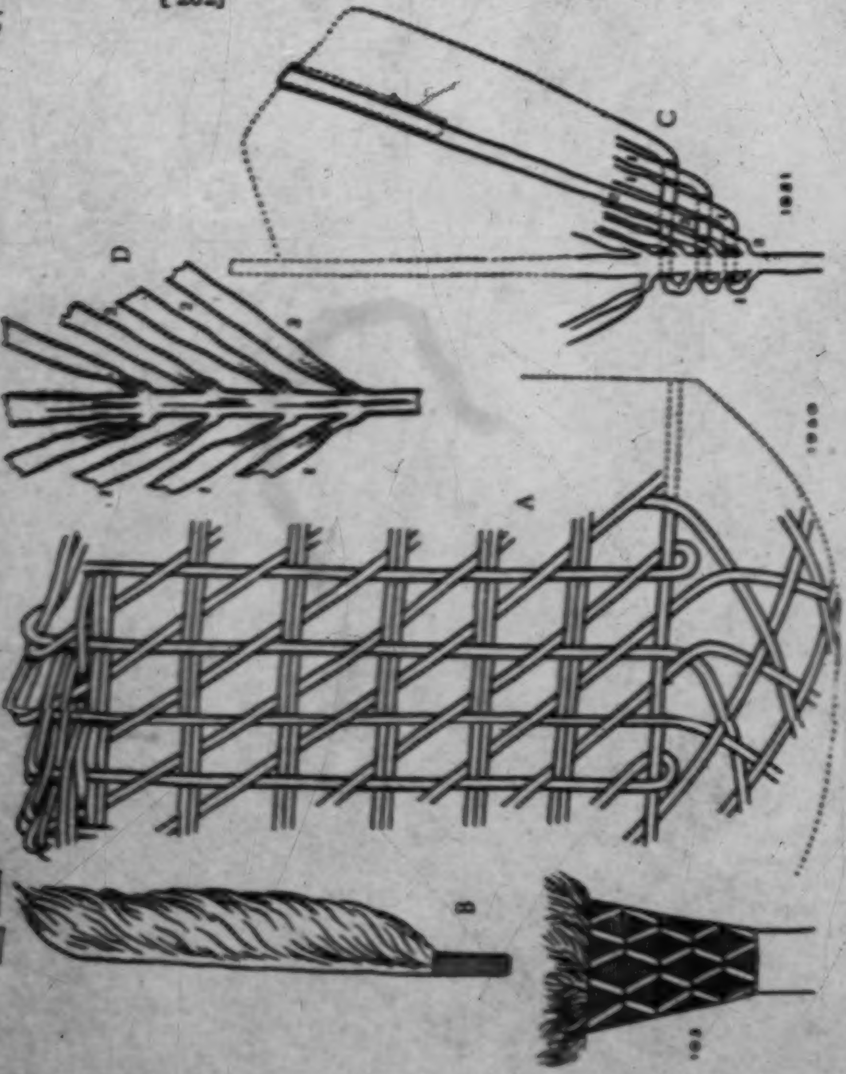


Fig. 66. Outline of an jalaça, straw cape of the Serra do Norte Indians.

7:Roquette-Pinto--59C E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambícuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

285

[282]



[30]
[53]

A. Pattern of basketry made with the flexible stem of a Desmoncus.

B. Details of nose plume.

C and D. Weaving pattern of palm leaf fan.

7 Roquette-Pinto--58D E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

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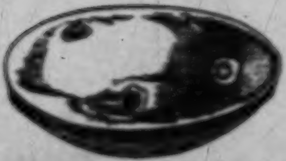

Fig. 67. Hait-teataçú--
Nose flute of the Serra do
Norte Indians.

177 [Fig., p. 60A]

[284] Some items in the collection are of special interest because they document the process of material acculturation. They consist on the one hand of objects that incorporate iron found by accident in the tracks of [Fig. 20] hunters and rubber gatherers; and on the other hand of imitative artifacts, made with the unskilled hand of a primitive people desirous of copying the products of a more advanced industry and the forms of a superior art.

[285: full page of figures.]

[286][Fig. 21] An instance of such imitation is provided by several diadems which crudely attempt to copy similar ornaments found among the Nambicuara; the latter are obviously alien objects plundered from northern tribes, where featherwork has reached a higher development.

[Fig. 68]

They have learned to appreciate the advantages of our hats [287] and prize them highly. An unhappy Indian who had not received one as a gift attempted to make one for his own pleasure, plaiting and adjusting bacaba leaflets...

Chapter XI

Conclusions

178 [307] It is not possible at this time to attempt a definitive synthesis of Nambicuara ethnography in relation to other tribes.

If we could distinguish in Brazil the two classical periods (Paleolithic and Neolithic), the Serra do Norte Indians would be included in the former; their axes are crudely chipped and their culture resembles the characteristic Paleolithic pattern. (1)

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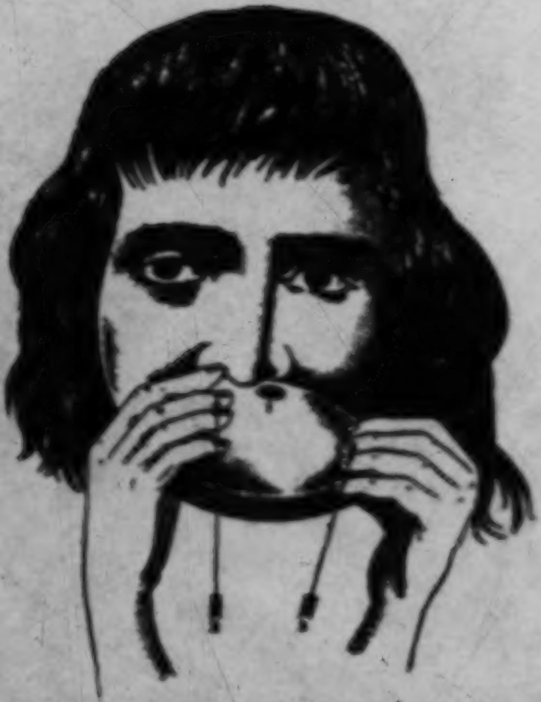
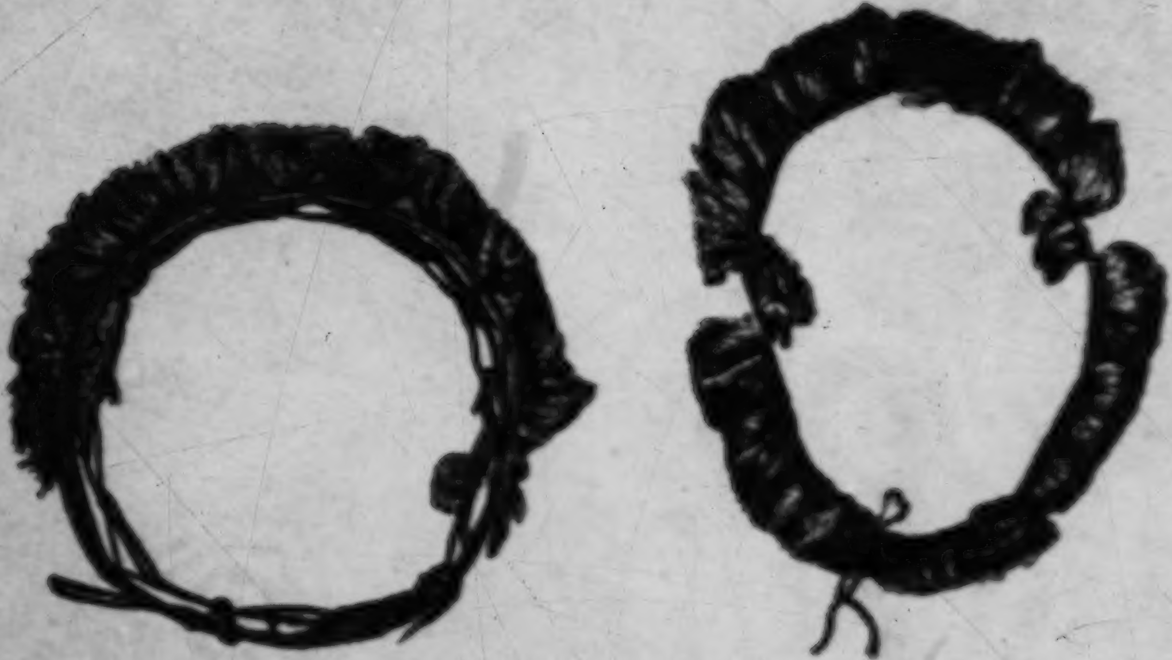
1. Diagramatically and in relation to their neighbors, the Nambicuara recall the Paleolithic peoples; but their culture, with its rudiments of agriculture and weaving and its crude

7:Roquette-Pinto--60A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534



Serra do Norte Indian playing the *hait-teataçã* (nose flute). (1) Blowing hole. (2-3) Holes controlled with the middle fingers.



Serra do Norte diadem--Serra do Norte feather ornament.

[illegible] E-4, 5 (no date)[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

?Roquette-Pinto--OC E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[396]

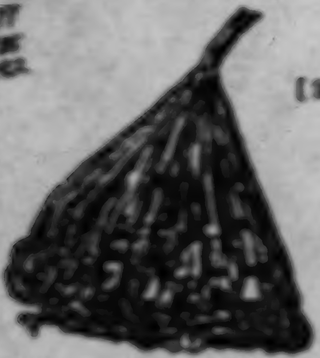


Fig. 66. Imitation of a straw hat made by a Juruena River Indian.

178

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paresi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

[177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paresi influence.
[342] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paresi. This is an import among the Nambicuara; the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the tapiri of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

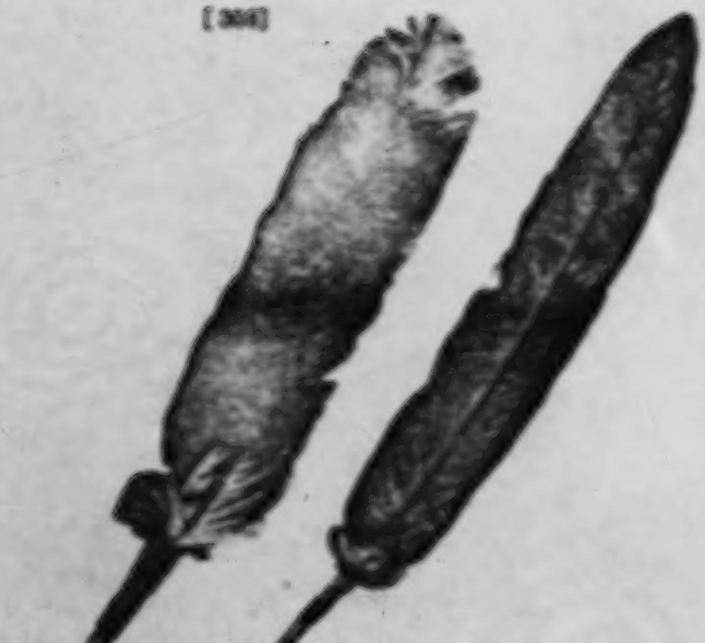
[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paresi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[29] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paresi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
529 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Iranxe and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.

p28

[306]



Nose ornaments.

7:Roquette-Pinto--62 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[Fig. 70]

177 [213] Their plaiting follows patterns clearly characteristic of the Xingu (Trumai and Nahuqua) and gives proof of contact with those backward tribes which the rudimentary culture of the Nambicuara had already implied.

[152] The quadrangular barbecue, which differs from the usual pattern, is used only by the more advanced groups (Tagnani, etc.); it recalls the barbecue of the Javahe as depicted by Fritz Krause. (1)

1. F. Krause, In Den Wildnissen Brasiliens [In the Brazilian Wilderness] (Leipzig, 1911).

[101] 177 The straw ornaments of the Nambicuara are quite similar to those of the Suya. But linguistic affinities are even more indicative of contact between the two groups. No other people speaks a dialect [310] so similar to that of the Nambicuara in terms of word morphology, although the two languages are otherwise quite different.

171 177 It is interesting that a spontaneous affinity should arise between two remote and equally primitive tribes, the Guayaki of Paraguay and the Nambicuara of the Serra do Norte, from their common use of the jaguar hide helmet.

However, I am inclined to believe that the latter copied it from their neighbors, the Cayabi of the Parataninga River, who use helmets of the same material.

178 171 Unfamiliarity with the banana tree and with the pipe (an object frequently encountered in North American mounds and Brazilian sambaquis) indicates how long the Nambicuara have been established in their mountain range.

Recognition of the Ge-Botocudo group as one of the oldest representatives of aboriginal South American populations is no longer a matter of dispute. . . . .

171 [311] There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the [Brazilian] linguistic groupings correspond to ascending stages of civilication [312]. . . . . The Serra do Norte is inhabited by a people of Ge culture evolving toward the Nu-Arawakan culture, of which they have barely reached the initial stages.

7:Roquette-Pinto--82A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

534

[309]

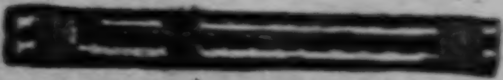


Fig. 70. Kaiguêtazá--Double flute of the
Serra do Norte.

?Roquette-Pinto--63 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP1? Nambicuara SP1?
(ca. 1912)

/86 To summarize our findings on the Nambicuara, we shall now list certain postulates documented in this book.

1. The Serra do Norte Indians were discovered by the Rondon Expeditions, at first in 1907 in the Juruena Valley and later in the whole mountain range.

Up to that time only hazy references to this group existed; the first date from 1718.

2. All the names given them by their neighbors and collected by travelers and frontiersmen are completely alien to the Nambicuara language. One group among them will probably be equated with the so-called Tapanyuna or Tapayuna, mentioned by some authors as if they were colonies of runaway African slaves. . . . .

3. All Serra do Norte Indians, with their axes of ill-polished stone and wooden knives--lived to this day in the midst of the stone age; they were unfamiliar with navigation, pottery making and hammocks, and slept directly on the ground.

The very crude pottery they use is looted or bartered from neighboring tribes. To this day, in spite of more than five years of contact, no one has seen them make pottery.

[313] 4. They had remained almost completely isolated; many of them had never seen white men or Negroes.

5. They live in isolated groups and speak dialects of the same language which are in process of differentiation. Those words pertaining to the principal parts of the human body, in accordance with observations made long ago among Indians in general, are least susceptible to morphological differentiation.

6. These groups are not all at the same stage of cultural development. Those who live in the Juruena Valley are the most backward: they are less sociable, more aggressive; they build rudimentary houses; they do not use the barbecue; they have no permanent chiefs. Those who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte have already attained a considerably higher stage of civilization which is revealed in their art and in their social customs.

7. As to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians could be included most easily in the Ge-Botocudo group. The languages most similar to Nambicuara are those of the Suya (discovered on the Xingu in 1884 by the Karl von den Steinen expedition) and of the Caraja on the Araguaia River.

Kiriri is another language which bears some similarity to the dialects of the Serra do Norte.

8. In addition to linguistic affinities, the Serra do Norte Indians present certain ethnographic traits peculiar to the Ge-Botocudo tribes and rarely found among Indians of other groups: unfamiliarity with navigation and the hammock, absence of pottery, screens of leaves and branches, etc.

This being the case, the Serra do Norte Indians (Nambicuara) add a western link to the chain [314] of Ge peoples whose westernmost representatives had been until now the Suya.

9. The Nambicuara have been neighbors of the Paresi for centuries but have been influenced only slightly by that tribe. The two cultures kept evolving side by side, at different stages of development and with little interaction.

10. Agriculture arose early among the Serra do Norte Indians; this seems to have resulted from the demands of the geographical environment. It is almost certain, however, that the rise of this activity was conditioned by alien influences, not yet known, which provided the opportunity to acquire the necessary materials; for the species encountered among the Nambicuara are the same as those cultivated by other inhabitants of the region.

11. From the standpoint of physical anthropology, the Serra do Norte Indians are completely distinct from their neighbors. Those American Indians who come closest to them in terms of anatomical characteristics are the Nu-Arawakan.

12. The Serra do Norte Indians are affected by a special skin disease . . . which is unknown to their neighbors . . . [and] probably a variety of tinea imbricata.

13. Their main parasites are Siphonaptera (chigoe, (1) believed to be of African origin but definitely a species of tropical America); and Hemiptera of the Pediculus humanus species, which are found among all the world's peoples. [Pinto, p. 264.] [315] Perhaps this particular insect should be considered a variant on account of its size.

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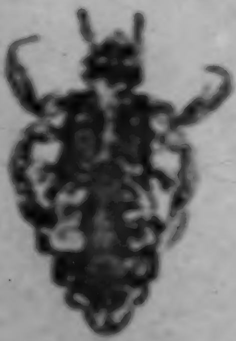
1. Tunga penetrans.

7.Roquette-Pinto--94A E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[87

6

[314]



Louse of the Serra do Norte Indians.

([illegible])

7:Roquette-Pinto--65 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

165 14. The Serra do Norte Indians seem to have reached the heart of South America in a very remote period.

15. Their featherwork is poor and barely beginning. Their music is well advanced. Their drawings (linear, poligonal, circular) are traced evenly; the only (stylized) living forms are of saurians and ophidians.

16. They seem to have preserved vivid memories of anthropophagy, if indeed they no longer practice it.

17. Their religion consists of a pantheistic fetishism among the more backward groups; the more advanced show signs of an incipient astrolatry.

18. Whatever the ethnographic position which later studies may assign to the Serra do Norte Indians, their discovery in that region, at that stage of culture, profoundly altered certain precepts of Brazilian anthropology.

19. If they are definitively included among the *Ge*, the theory of an eastern or coastal origin for this group will become practically untenable.

[316] 20. If they are placed among the Arawakan group, their discovery will acquire even greater significance; according to Von den Steinen's theory, the original habitat of a people is the area where its most backward representatives are to be found.

21. The Nu-Arawakan migration, in this case, would have occurred from south to north, contrary to the classical precepts of South American ethnology.

22. With their physical characteristics close to those of the Arawakan, their isolated language, and the ethnographic traits they share with the Ge, the Serra do Norte Indians prove an important "geo-anthropological" truth which had been implied since the exploration of the Xingu area.

It was on the great Brazilian plateau that the process of ethnic differentiation began in South America.

NAMBICUARA ANTHROPOMETRY -- MEN

TABLE A

C - Cocozu-Nenen A - Anunsu T - Tagnani Ud - Uaintaçu

Case number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Mean
Group	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	A	A	A	A	A	T	T	T	T	Ud	
Total height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chest circumference	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Head (in millimeters)																			
Occipito-frontal diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Transverse diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Minimum frontal diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maximum bizygomatic diameter	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nasion-menton distance	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nose (in millimeters)																			
Height	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Prominence (at base)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Eye (in millimeters)																			
External horizontal breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Internal palpebral breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Right ear (in millimeters)																			
Length	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Breadth	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cephalic index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]
Nasal index	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18

(ca. 1915)

Table C

7:Roquette-Pinto--GS E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

Nambicuara Women

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Mean
Total height	1,43	1,44	1,47	1,45	1,52	1,45	1,55	1,47
Pelvic Measurements:								
Bi-spinal diameter	0,22	0,22	0,23	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21	0,21
Bi-cristal diameter	0,24	0,23	0,24	0,23	0,23	0,23	0,25	0,23
Bi-trochanteric diameter	0,28	0,26	0,28	0,25	0,28	0,26	0,28	0,26
Sacro-pubic [external conjugate] diameter	0,17	0,18	0,17	0,17	0,16	0,17	0,19	0,17

"Written Portrait"

Card Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Forehead:								
Slope	v	v	v	v	v	v	v	
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Breadth	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g	
Nose:								
Nasion depression	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	
Bridge	st	st	c	st	st	st	st	
Nasal septum	d	sm*	d	h	h	h	d	*[sic]
Height	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	

(continued)

141

Table C (cont'd)

"Written Portrait"

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Prominence [at base]		sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Breadth		sm	sm	sm	g	g	g	sm
Ear:								
Helix	origin [anterior]	sm	sm	sm	g	g	sm	sm
	superior	g	sm	g	g	sm	sm	sm
	posterior	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm
Lobule	outline	sq	sq	sq	sq	sq	rd	sq
	junction [to neck]	fu	fu	fr	fu	fu	fu	fu
	size	sm	g	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Antitragus								
	plane [inclinação]	h	h	h	ob	h	ob	ob
	size	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	sm	g
Auricle		ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov	ov

7:Roquette-Pinto--70 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[228]

p.l

Physical Type of the Serra Do Norte Indians (Nambicuara)
As determined by the "Written Portrait" method.

Forehead:

Slope -- Vertical 80%; retreating 20%.
Height -- Small 78%; medium 12%; great 10%.
Breadth -- Small 86%; great 10%; medium 4%.

Nose:

Nasion depression -- Great 56%; small 33%; medium 11%.
Bridge -- Straight 44%; convex 56%
Nasal septum -- Directed downward 43%; horizontal 50%;
directed upward 8%.
Height -- Great 56%; medium 11%; small 33%.
Prominence [at base] -- Great 22%; small 78%.
Breadth -- Great 99%; medium 1%.

Ear:

Helix
- Origin [anterior] -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Superior -- Large 44%; small 56%.
- Posterior -- Large 5%; small 95%.

Lobule
- Outline -- Square 78%; rounded [descendente] 22%.
- Junction [to neck] -- Fused 100%.
- Size -- Large 33.3%; small 66.7%.

Antitragus plane [inclinação] -- Horizontal 44.4%; oblique 55.6%.
Auricle -- Quadrangular 11%; oval 89%.

?:Roquette-Pinto--71 E-4,5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[326]

Dactyloscopic formulae of the Nambicuara Indians

Men

Card No. 1	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 10	I. 2242 E. 4333
Card No. 2	V. 4333 V. 3222	Card No. 11	V. 4444 V. 4444
Card No. 3	V. 4343 V. 4222	Card No. 12	V. 4343 V. 4242
Card No. 4	V. 4333 V. 4222	Card No. 13	V. 4444 E. 4444
Card No. 5	V. 4444 V. 4442	Card No. 14	V. 3333 V. 2222
Card No. 6	V. 4344 V. 4244	Card No. 15	V. 3333 V. 2242
Card No. 7	V. 4444 V. 4444	Card No. 16	V. 3344 V. 2344
Card No. 8	V. 4344 V. 4244	Card No. 17	V. 3344 V. 4244
Card No. 9	V. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 18	V. 4444 V. 4444

Women

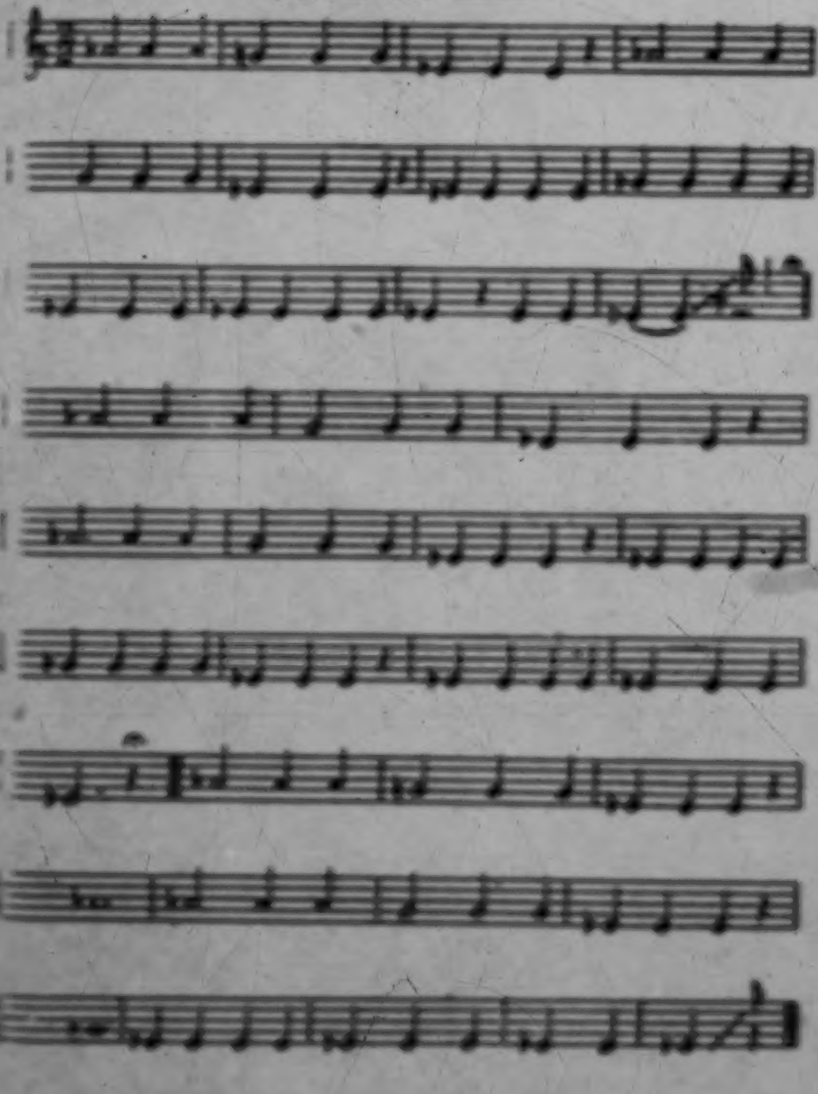
Card No. 1	V. 4443 V. 4442	Card No. 4. . . .	V. 3343 V. 4242
Card No. 2	E. 4333 V. 4242	Card No. 5. . . .	V. 4343 V. 4344
Card No. 3. . . .	V. 4443 V. 4242	Card No. 6. . . .	V. 4444 I. 4444
Card No. 7	V. 3343 V. 2222		

?:Roquette-Pinto--72 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

14.560

733

Recording No. 1.
Serra do Norte Indians

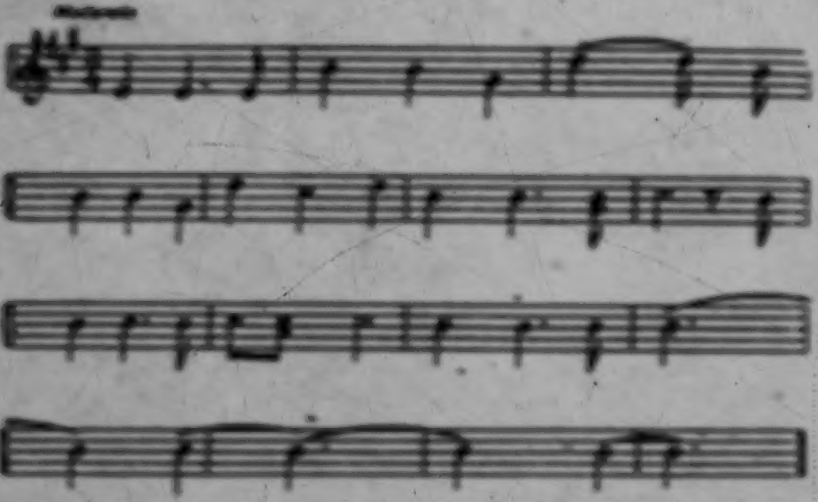


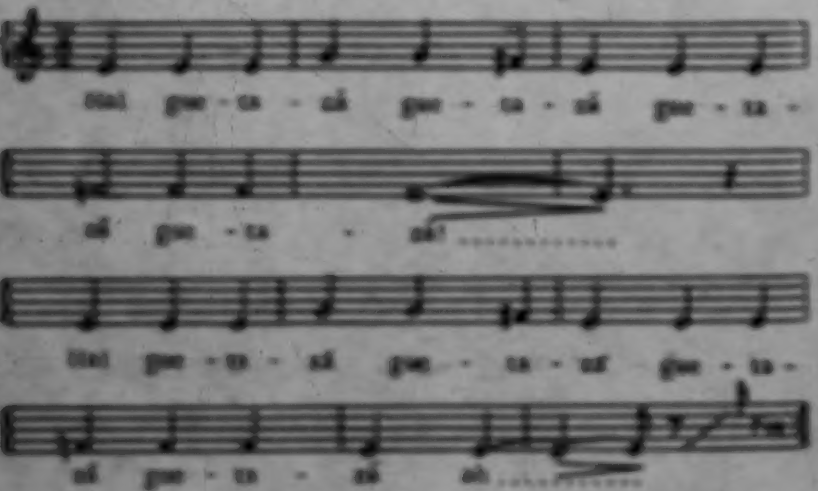
?Roquette-Pinto--73 I-4,3 (no date)1938 SP1? Nambicuara SP1?
(ca. 1912)

[334] Recording No. 2.

SP6

Serra do Norte Indians




Hai pa - ta - ná pa - ta - ná pa - ta -
ná pa - ta - ná!
Hai pa - ta - ná pa - ta - ná pa - ta -
ná pa - ta - ná ah

?Roquette-Pinto--74 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
[368] (ca. 1912)

Tawite Nambicuara Word List

p.2 forearm -- Tanoleré.
beard -- Taindâ.
mouth -- Taiâri.
arm band -- Ai-nê.
arm -- Tuenaiendê.
hair -- Tanegatê.
cry -- Uûnitenê.
elbow -- Tanukenaini.
child (offspring) -- Taukidê.
gourd -- Ualed or Kaaré.
finger -- Tahidê.
back [of the body] -- Taragaaneri.
knee -- Tacingaandaiel.
lip -- Taiamindê.

tongue -- Taiâ-hendê.
hand -- Taeiguedeiré.
nose -- Taiâiren-di.
eye -- Taiendê.
ear -- Tanaialendê.
pot [pan] -- Uar-ndê.
foot -- Taiané.
chest [breast] -- Tanokaindê.
penis -- Taguiri.
leg -- Taiahendê.
chin -- Taiaiendê.
breast -- Tandurê.
abdomen -- Tatahari.

Tagnani Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Festa da Bandeira River
(Camararé River)

water -- Narmandê.
cotton -- Oândê.
forearm -- Uânoleri.
bow -- Hunê.
armpit -- Uanakaiarendê.
fire sticks -- Halmandê.
mouth -- Ueiari.
arm band -- Taiâte.
arm -- Uanderi.
head -- Uanaiûré.
hair -- Uanakiné.
snake -- Iedé or Ledé.
lip plug -- Yaairiri.
nose plug -- Kandê.
basket -- Tuhiré.
opossum -- Eh.
arrow tip cord -- Iahandiré.

elbow -- Uanakaraieri.
thigh -- Uacadnari.
gourd -- Iruendê.
finger -- Uahidê.
tooth -- Diâhiri.
back [of the body] --
Uaragaidê.
star -- Tangeê.
wooden knife -- Hâkauai.
bamboo arrow -- Úainedê.
blunt arrow -- Daiinadê.
smooth arrow --Heagaidê.
fire -- Ekaê.
forehead -- Uignairi.
smoke -- Tchiendê.
grasshopper -- Kiguidê.
to cry [scream] ; a cry
(keyan?) -- Uiilahanairi.
bone --Uanagaaru-kaeradê.
lip -- Uilahain-ndê.

?Roquette-Pinto--75 E-4, 8 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Tagnani Nambicuara Word List (cont'd)

[368]

/82 tongue -- Uañenañ.
monkey (Cebus sp.) -- Hurâ.
stone axe -- Hieng-nindi.
manioc -- Hitsê or Chi-cê.
hand -- Uahinâ.
uruca paste -- Huduhú-kaidi.
barbecue [moquém] -- Hikiri.
maize -- Guinê or Kuenê
(or E).
nose -- Oiranindê.
eye -- Uignindi.
ear -- Uatçolenê.
(to call someone:) -- Herom!
Herom!

(to ask something:) -- Iriri? Iriri?
or endumâ?
stick [piece of wood] -- Irikanê.
foot -- Uahinê.
chest [breast] -- Uaenakaendê.
pubic hair -- Uegsiri.
leg -- Uanaduri.
neck -- Uaelargunê.
hammock (ouri) -- Toenâê.
breast -- Uano-huri.
sun -- Tchondi.
armadillo -- Ualumdi.
earth -- Alfre.
nail [finger or toe] -- Uegenaê.
urucu -- Udúhúkaidi.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List
Juina River

fan -- Kaflkiçâ.
bejui bee -- Detaçâ (?).
borá-cavalo bee -- Arukitaçâ (?).
jati bee -- Otaçâ (?).
to light [a fire or light] --
Hauhiçâ.
water -- Unnaâ.
to walk -- Aibedinâ.
tapir -- Isanâ (?).
forearm -- Onnukiâ (or çâ).
to put out [a fire or light] --
Uetitiâ.
macaw -- Aranâ (?).
bow -- Hukiçâ.
toe -- Toeinguelinâ.
arrow barbs -- Aifuinçu.

bacaba -- Ufdndi.
hummingbird -- Duniriguiná.
mustache -- Tuaibetaçâ.
mouth -- Tualaçâ.
to yawn -- Tuaiâ endanuâ.
tapioca cake -- Urihanuâ.
pretty [bonito] -- Uará.
butterfly -- Ualedeçâ.
dung -- Iaigueneçâ.
fiber arm band -- Koiâ-amçâ.
arm -- Onnukiçâ (or nâ).
earring -- Arukiçâ.
muriti [palm] -- Hêrâ.
head -- Toenekiçâ.
hair -- Uaekikiçâ.
cashew [fruit] -- Erekiçâ.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

[92 heat -- Ueniudêrû.
way [path] -- Dêhinnçá.
field -- Uenrrû.
to sing -- Haiguedarû.
small -- Baânendêrû.
house -- Siçá.
skull -- Mamakliná.
sky -- Ocendjá.
basket -- Atiçá.
to cry [weep] -- Nandêrû.
[260]
skin -- Ueçá.
black bead hip cord -- Kaimundzá.
fiber hip cord -- Ialáçá.
liana [*cipó*] -- Hukinnzá.
circumference -- Irengçá.
make -- Diçá (or Tiçá).
rabbit -- Iakeçá.
colhereiro [a wading bird] -- Digliná.
to eat -- Irurindêrû.
what is your [its] name? Iririnná?
earring shell -- Nenzá.
string [rope] -- Alenaçá.
owl -- Kalendzá.
to run -- Iledêrû.
child -- Uetá.
gourd -- Kaseçá.
termite [*cupim*] -- Cabá.
to defecate -- Tonnignaçá.
tooth -- Toninçá.
sick -- Inenendêrû.
to ache -- Inenendêrû.
to sleep -- Akgurigudêrû.

back [of the body] -- Toadaçaçá.
to sneeze -- Uaikacê-ingui-kêçá.
star -- Ikitaçá.
child-carrying strap -- Çáará.
ugly -- Inkiá-kinikiduná.
drawing, figure -- Kore-nauá.
son [offspring] -- Uetû.
cotton thread (on arrows) -- Kondzá.
fiber thread (on arrows) -- Kaceçá.
flute -- Kaiguetazá.
nose flute -- Hait-tea-taçá.
arrow with flattened tip -- Aleraçá.
arrow with smooth cylindrical tip -- Anleeçá.
bamboo-tipped arrow -- Uaeliçu.
flower -- Talatçá.
fire -- Aneiûherá.
leaf -- Adenandzá.
cigarette [-rolling] leaf -- Enenzá.
forehead -- Toaiêkunuzá.
tobacco -- Etû.
smoke -- Akalaçá.
spindle -- Gdarêtará.
grão de galo [a huckleberry--*Celtis iguanaeus*] -- Aluinikiçá.
gravata [a Bromeliad] -- Koalorentçá.
cricket -- Baguedaçá (?).
to cry [to scream] -- Kaiguetaaçá.
guariroba do campo [a Syagrus palm] -- Konin-tê.
herb [weed] -- Ihazá.
man -- Noçá.
that -- Dêta.
jatoba -- Oiará.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

[352 alligator -- Nuntaçú.
knee -- Toakiritanzú.
lizard [lagarto] -- Enarũ.
small lizard [lagartixa] -- Ianoçú.
milk -- Anungçú.
to rise [get up] -- Ihái-cenogo-dotũ.
tongue -- Toáloherú.
far -- Uetçũ.
moon -- Irikiçú.
monkey -- Hotũ.
nipple -- Anunguetizũ.
mangaba [fruit] -- Katêkiçũ.
hand -- Toái-ikiçú.
manioc dough -- Ùri-nodzú.
to chew -- Iaiguedutũ.
jungle [mata] -- Daikiniotçũ.
honey -- Duhiazũ? (P).
to die -- Aunindutũ.
woman -- Doçũ.
nose -- Toiaionendzũ.
bamboo stem joint [nô de taquara] -- Karitandçú.
eye -- Toai-ikikiçũ.
[351]
jaguar -- Ienarũ.
ear -- Toanenendzũ.
lip perforation -- Ionkon-nandetũ.
nasal septum perforation -- Ononkon-nandetũ.
babassu straw [thatch] --Uenandzũ.
eyelid -- Toaiecindjũ.
wood (tree) -- Içũ.
pau santo [Guajacum sanctum] Hinekiçũ.

foot -- Toaiukizú.
chest [breast] -- Toanunkizũ.
fish -- Aiutchũ.
pubic hair -- Toaliketaçũ.
arrow feathers (*sariema*) -- Kolatoedçũ.
penis -- Toakiçũ.
partridge -- Uiteá-guiçú.
leg -- Toaçuçú.
neck -- Toaietolozũ.
mortar -- Notũ.
dorsal fiber pendant [cape] -- Ialaçú.
louse -- Kani-iniçũ.
piqui -- Aarũ.
ray [beam] -- Uaduguezũ.
grater -- Tomarũ.
arrow resin -- Niaendçũ.
blood -- Toatiçú.
sariema [sic] -- Kolatzũ.
to sit (squat) -- Acikáuekedotũ.
grave (1) -- Ilurindũtũ (204).
yes -- Han-han!
sun -- Uterikuçũ.
sweat -- Uàienoçú.
bamboo -- Ikuirikazú.
bamboo of arrow -- Arukirikatçũ.
earth -- Inoçú.
anthill clay -- Katunuzũ.
testicles -- Toalikiçũ.
tocanguira -- Tietátáglizũ (or çu).
triangle -- Nendzũ.
thunder -- Taridzũ.
tucura -- Taketazú.
navel -- Takodadlizũ.

Cocozu Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

192 toenail -- Toainuçua-kezã.
to urinate -- Kereguetauçã.
urucu -- Dukiçã.
abdomen -- Toaendzã.
vulva -- Akioçã.

Those words marked (P) belong to a word list compiled by Lt. Pyreneus in 1911.

(1) This word seems to be compounded of a Tagnani word, alôre (earth), and a Cocozu word, nandetã (hole); viz. alore-nandetã, "hole in the earth."

Anunze Nambicuara Word List
Serra do Norte -- Doze de Outubro River

forearm -- Uanozunê.
bow -- Ukinê.
fire sticks -- Haitzã.
[362]
arm -- Uanukizê.
pitch (resin) -- Duhu-taará.
earring -- Nan-ninzê.
head -- Uanegnetã.
cashew [fruit] -- Eehrã.
nose plug -- Uonedenê.
wax -- Duhutaará.
sky -- Uacinzê.
bead necklace -- Kairizê.
to eat -- Ilduzê.
heart -- Iakzê.
elbow -- Uanokundunzê.
thigh -- Uanikizê.
finger -- Uaikuenezê.
tooth -- Uauizê.
back [of the body] -- Uatluzê.
testicles -- Uaiariguinizê.
shoulder blade -- Uanotoarizê.
knife -- Iurê.
liver -- Aierê.
flute -- Kiazê.
arrow (general term)-- Hauktiçã.
mouth -- Uainuzê.
good -- Idaknikdaçã.
arm band -- Nokonigui-guizê.
stone axe -- Eun-etú.
straw cape -- Ielaçã.
hand -- Uaikizê.
woman -- Ducê.
nose -- Uanonzê.
eye -- Uaiekodakzú.
ear -- Uonaninzê.
stick [piece of wood] -- Içunê.
foot -- Uainkizê.
nose feather -- Unetizú.
penis -- Uakizê.
comb -- Halatzã.
leg -- Uaçunê.
feather pendant -- Ieiakizê.
chin -- Uainklu-enzê.

1-Roquette-Pinto--79 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

[62 scraper of capybara teeth -- Iakizû.
medicine [remédio] -- Inekiaçû.
armadillo -- Ñanaê.
nine-banded armadillo [Dasypus novemcinctus] -- Hatde-nendzâ.
earth -- Incoê.
tripe (general term for intestines)-- Aiokaê.
fire -- Anizâ.

forehead -- Uenakeaê.
man -- Idniaâ.
alligator -- Numaçâ.
knee -- Uagnididaaê.
tongue -- Ualiehoré.
line [twine?] -- Kuimaiçâ.
nail -- Uaimakaraê.
navel -- Ualiadaazê.
urucu -- Duhiaaê.
deer -- Iataraê.
abdomen -- Uariçâ.

Colors

[p22] yellow -- Kanatiçâ.
blue -- Iadnaaçâ.
white -- Kuidiçâ.
black -- Kaikiûaçâ.

black (pitch) -- Iadenaazâ.
green -- Cedecededenoçâ.
red -- Duhiaçâ.

[253]

Words Collected by Lt. A. Pyreneus de Souza

achopé bee -- Araai.
borá regina bee -- Kaludênaê.
mandaguari-vermelho bee -- Iuaê.
manduri bee -- Kioarizê.
tatá bee -- Arizê.
tiúba bee -- Tararê.
pumpkin (ours) -- Aria-tocê.
macaw -- Aranzê.
araticum [shrub of Annona genus] -- Ararê.
meat -- Uanonzê.

coatá [spider monkey] -- Kadoaê.
heron -- Mokarê.
jennet -- Kuruaiuderê.
pacu [small fresh-water fish] -- Mambitre.
castiçal palm tree -- Kaiocê.
parakeet -- Kakaineaê.
piau [large minnow] -- Akuriaê.
painted -- Uananceê.
dove -- Tuizê.
pig -- Iakizê.

?Roquette-Pinto--96 E-4, 5 (no date) 1935 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

Anunze Nambicuara Word List (Cont'd)

172 quen-quen -- Peassesê.
what is it [are you] called? --
Uaini-guidi?
what is that? -- Iaunaure? or
Uanauaure?
rat [mouse] -- Dòdecê.
fat [grease] -- Iauesâsê.
cricket -- Dakisê.
scorpion [lacrau] -- Aliam-
decê.
minnow [lambari] -- Kajerê.

small lizard [lagartixa] --
Iausuê.
wasp -- Uranecê.
honey -- Denasê.
Doze de Outubro River --
Ori-handesê.
Nambicuara River -- Oaru-
iukandesê.
agricultural plot [roça] -- Alisê.
sun -- Ihidasê.
vulture -- Uracisê.